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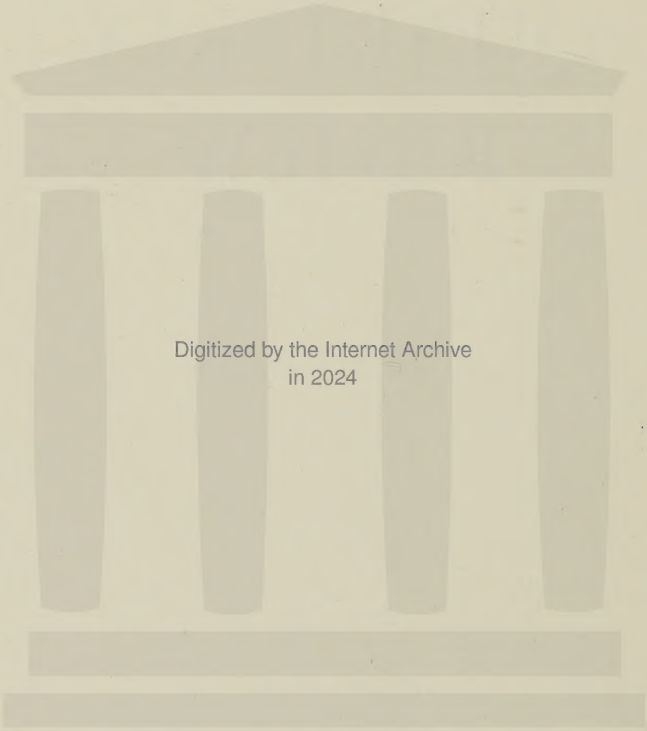
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EDITORIAL

THERE can be little doubt that the present decade is likely to be more than usually critical for the Christian Church. All ages are ages of crisis, and the Church is accustomed to battle through tumultuous seas. The ship, with its Pilot on board, always has ridden the storm and always will. But we must not allow ourselves to become complacent or apathetic. If we are not careful, there may be a lot of unnecessary damage to ourselves and to the ship, and the voyage may be regrettably delayed.

What constitutes the gathering crisis is the very real challenge that is even now being made to the Church's pre-eminent position in the world. The most serious feature is not the defection of countries like Russia and certain of the South American republics. It is to be seen in the upsurge of racialism and nationalism in Asia and Africa, and in the consequent aggressive policies now being adopted by Islam, Buddhism, and even Hinduism.

Missionary activity is changing sides. It is no longer the prerogative of Christianity. Other faiths are seizing their opportunity to turn the revolt from the white man's government into a rejection of the white man's religion. Whereas the nineteenth was history's greatest century for Christian missions, the twentieth may well be the one in which we had to run a hard race with other competitors for the reduction of the last strongholds of paganism.

Let us admit that the rivalry is in large measure a friendly one. While we could not accept Toynbee's suggestion of an amalgam of the highest religions, Christian missionaries are agreed that any one of the great faiths is infinitely preferable to a quasi-primitive animism. But the rivalry remains. Christians are under the command to make disciples of every creature: they believe that in Christ alone is sure salvation, although they confidently trust his love and care even for those who have not heard of him. Moreover, there is the practical consideration that it is harder to convert those who have already accepted one of the higher non-Christian faiths than it is to convert the mere pagan. The good becomes the enemy of the better by reducing its prestige. The convert from paganism to Islam is to some extent immunized against Christianity.

The contemporary crisis therefore presents us with both a challenge and an opportunity. In such circumstances it is

immensely encouraging to know that at least one great effort is being made to meet the situation in statesmanlike fashion. It is an effort that should appeal especially to readers of the *C.Q.R.*

For the first time in history an investigation has been carried through to estimate the needs in literature of the major part of the mission fields of the Anglican Communion. We say "major part", because for obvious reasons the areas dependent upon the churches of the U.S.A. and Australia have been omitted from this survey. What it all amounts to can be read in the recently published report *Literature for the Anglican Communion*.[1] We can put the result of the investigation in a nutshell by saying that whereas at the present time S.P.C.K. (which for two and a half centuries has been the chief supplier of literature for the mission field) is spending £55,000 a year on this work, to meet at all adequately the demands made clear in the report at least £200,000 a year would be required.

This statement gives us some measure of the progress we must make if we are to realize and live up to the actualities of the present crisis. It hardly needs to be said that the battle for the minds of the nascent nations of Africa and Asia will be fought mainly with the weapon of literature. The child races of the earth are rapidly becoming literate; and those who appeal first to their pride in their newly acquired skill will gain tremendous prestige. S.P.C.K. is admirably fitted to take advantage of this situation, for this is just the line along which it has been working for many years. Not only so, but it is also well equipped with those visual aids that are the modern allies of the printed word.

Let it be understood that this is not some piece of self-advertisement on the part of the Venerable Society: the situation is much too urgent for that. The report has in point of fact been compiled from the evidence sent in by the missionaries themselves and carefully collated under the guidance of the metropolitan of each area. It appears generally agreed that what is wanted is not some revolutionary change in methods of propaganda, but a large and steady expansion of the means already employed.

It might be thought that the scheme was too grandiose, too unpractical, were it not that something very like it is already in active practice by such bodies as Jehovah's Witnesses and the Seventh Day Adventists. One can say from personal experience that their colporteurs are to be found not only in the long streets

[1] S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.

of English suburbs but in the loneliest reaches of the Australian out-back. Such success as they enjoy is due to the zeal, not of their clergy (if they have any) but of their average membership.

Here is a call to our own laity. It is very necessary that Anglicans as a whole should seize every opportunity of furthering this new enterprise. It was asked for by our Fathers-in-God at Lambeth. S.P.C.K. has shown us how the need can be met and what it will cost in time, men, and money. Christianity still outnumbers by more than two to one every other single religion, but it is itself greatly outnumbered when those other religions are put together. Not one third of the total population of the world is yet Christian. Are we to allow the area of Christ's Kingdom on earth to become still smaller, or shall we accept the challenge of the present unrest to enter this war of movement and seize new territory in his name? If we ardently desire the latter, it would be well to let the Director of S.P.C.K. know how we propose to help.

OUR LORD'S BAPTISM AND OURS*

R. V. SELLERS

THE PURPOSE of this memorandum, which owes much to the findings of modern scholarship on the subject, is to attempt to show (1), how in the light of New Testament evidence, our Lord's baptism, as this itself looks back to John the Baptist's rite of purification, provides the key to our understanding of the origin and meaning of Christian baptism; and (2), how in the new Baptismal Offices the significance of our Lord's baptism is given clear liturgical expression, as it is set against the background of the idea of the Christian *kerygma*, or proclamation of man's salvation in Christ.

The Origin and Meaning of Christian Baptism

The Baptism of John

There is a close link between our Lord and John the Baptist, whose preaching and "baptism of repentance unto remission of sins" forms the prelude to the Gospel. The Baptist warns his hearers of the impending judgement, which is to bring with it the rooting out of those spiritually and morally dead, and the setting up of a renewed people of God under the new covenant: the "Mightier One" would come and baptize with the Spirit (in fulfilment, that is, of Joel's prophecy) and with the fire of judgement.[1] What was necessary, then, was repentance demonstrated in moral reformation, and, outwardly, readiness to be baptized "for remission of sins". Thus, especially if (as we may well assume) John had in mind such passages as Isa. 1. 16-20; Mic. 7. 18-20; Ezek. 36. 25-7 and particularly chapter 47, his rite is to be seen as an "acted prophecy", expressing and in some sense effecting spiritual and moral renewal in preparation for the coming of the Messiah and the fulfilment of Israel's eschatological hope.

Our Lord's Baptism

Now one of the most striking facts in connection with our Lord's baptism is that he submitted to a baptism "for remission of sins".

* A memorandum on the theological background of the Baptismal Services submitted by the Church of England Liturgical Commission in their Report to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in November 1958.

This of itself seems to indicate that his baptism is to be taken as, in a real sense, prefiguring those "salvation events" which, as we are to see, are symbolized and become effective at every Christian baptism. The story shows that his baptism in water is intimately associated with (a) an experience of possessing God's Spirit, and (b) a unique consciousness of his own divine Sonship. Moreover, these two elements of the story are themselves closely related: the dove descends and "rests" upon Jesus, revealing him as the Anointed One, who ever remains in union with his Father as he comes to fulfil the divine purpose; and in consequence the voice declares him to be the "beloved Son" in whom God is "well pleased" (Mark 1. 11). But in this declaration, which opens with the messianic "Thou art my Son" (Ps. 2. 7), we may find a distinct echo of the first of the Servant poems: "I have put my spirit upon him [the Lord's servant]: he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles" (Isa. 42. 1). It should be noted too, that in the Fourth Gospel the Baptist testifies of Jesus as "the Chosen One of God" (John 1. 34)—this being the reading which is probably to be preferred—and that, according to St Luke, the similar declaration at the Transfiguration ran, "my Son, my Chosen" (Luke 11. 35). Thus at the inauguration of his public ministry, the Lord was manifested as the Servant-Messiah, who had come to effect a general forgiveness, which could be appropriated by those who believed in him. This conception, it would seem, is reflected in our Lord's reply to John the Baptist that he comes to "fulfil all righteousness" (Matt. 4. 15) and in the statement in St Luke that his baptism took place when "all" had been baptized (Luke 3. 21). It comes out most clearly in St John: he on whom the Baptist had seen the Spirit as a dove descending and abiding was "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world" (1. 29, 32).

The Relation between our Lord's Baptism and his Mission

The Lord's baptism, then, points forward to his Cross. More than once, it appears, as he knows that he comes "not with the water only, but with the water and the blood", he links "baptism" with "death" (Mark 10. 39; Luke 12. 50): his death was to be the completed baptism, which would mark the inauguration of his wider ministry to the whole world. For then he would be no longer "straightened": his saving and atoning work would be efficacious for all men, and through the liberation of his Spirit when the work

was "finished", theirs could be that newness of life which he came to bring. Here again the fourth evangelist acts as interpreter: during his public ministry "Jesus himself baptized not . . ." (John 4. 2)—because he was awaiting his "hour" when he would baptize all men everywhere; and "the Spirit was not yet—because Jesus was not yet glorified" (7. 39).

Christian Baptism

This complete baptism of Jesus as Servant-Son transformed John's preparatory rite of purification into the Christian baptism of the Acts and Epistles. It is still baptism in water, accompanied by repentance, but what is now proclaimed is in effect that the Johannine baptism "for the forgiveness of sins" has been fulfilled in baptism into the Name of the Lord Jesus: through this sacramental incorporation into the Body of Christ—since "in one spirit" all are "baptized into one body", and having "put on Christ", all are "one in him" (1 Cor. 12. 13; Gal. 3. 27, 28)—the convert is made partaker of all the benefits which he has won for man through effecting the general forgiveness. For it is in the death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and through his "going away" (John 16. 7)—the coming of the Comforter—that baptismal grace, which is essentially "prevenient grace", has its foundation.

The Relation between Christian Baptism and our Lord's Baptism

But, as we have seen, according to the traditional thought of the early Church these "salvation events" are all foreshadowed when our Lord was baptized in Jordan. It would follow, then, that Christian baptism has its ground in our Lord's own baptism: Christian baptism, and his baptism in Jordan are inseparably linked together. It is true that St Paul, when describing what takes place at baptism in the celebrated passage in Rom. 6. 3-6, equates Christian baptism with the Lord's burial and resurrection, but this is not to say that he was unaware of teaching which equated it with the Lord's own baptism in all its proleptic significance. Thus following primitive thought, we may say that at every Christian baptism the Lord's own baptism is re-enacted, as it points forward to his death and resurrection and the coming of the Holy Spirit. To illustrate the correspondence between the two baptisms: As our Lord, in a symbol of his death and resurrection descended into and emerged from the water of Jordan, so the baptized "dies unto sin" and is

"alive to God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6. 11); as the Spirit descended upon him when he "went up straightway from the water" (Matt. 3. 16), so, receiving the Spirit from the ascended Lord, the baptized is "born over again" (John 3. 3)—the rebirth being a reality, though it may be deprived of its continuation—and shares in the messianic anointing as a chosen one of God, being inwardly sealed with the Spirit as his property "unto the day of redemption" (2 Cor. 1. 21, 22; Eph. 1. 13, 14; 4. 30); as our Lord, having received the Spirit, heard the heavenly voice declare "Thou art my Son", so the baptized is assured by the indwelling Spirit that his is now the status of sonship by adoption, and that, being "in Christ", he is free to enter the presence chamber of his heavenly Father, and cry "Abba" (Rom. 5. 2; 8. 15; Eph. 2. 18; 3. 12); and as our Lord looked forward to the culmination of his work at the Parousia, so the baptized looks forward to "the day of redemption", when the consequences of his being "in Christ" will be realized in all its fulness.

It will be agreed that when Christian baptism is set against the background of our Lord's own baptism, seen as anticipating his saving acts, the doctrine that in baptism the candidate is made "a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven" appears in a most arresting light.

Here brief reference may be made to two other important considerations in connection with New Testament teaching on baptism. In the first place, it is significant that, according to St Luke, our Lord was "praying" when after his Baptism the Holy Spirit descended on him (Luke 3. 22). This, and other references in the third gospel to prayer for the coming of the Spirit, seem to point to the attitude of the congregation when a convert is being "added" to the Church: the Church is distinctly the "praying Church", since there can be no Christian baptism without the Spirit (Acts 1. 14; 4. 31).

Secondly we should notice the direct connection between baptism and the Eucharist: in both Christ's saving act (accomplished through his death, resurrection, ascension, and the coming of the Holy Spirit) is re-presented in the Church to the everlasting benediction of the believer; but whereas in baptism the saving act is related to the individual member of the community, in the Eucharist it is related to the community as a whole. A striking illustration of the close relationship of the two "Sacraments of the

Gospel" is provided by the fourth evangelist (to whom we are once more indebted for theological interpretation): in the *Pedilavium* (John 13. 1ff) baptismal symbolism is linked with the Last Supper, and in this introduction to the Passion, the Lord is portrayed as the Servant-Son, whose "blood cleanseth us from all sin".

A Brief Exposition of the Doctrinal Background of the New Forms of Service

We now ask how far this New Testament teaching receives liturgical expression in the new proposed forms of service for the Baptism of Infants and Adults. The answer, we suggest, is that the idea of the Christian *kerygma* forms the warp and woof of these services, and that the concept of the significance of our Lord's baptism stands out most impressively in the general pattern.

The Baptism of Adults

In the Office of Baptism of Adults, which we take first, the thought of the "mighty acts of God" appears at the outset: in the introductory Psalm (34) God is praised for the greatness of his name and the certainty that he is "mighty to save". But it will be observed, in the Collect which follows attention is directed to our Lord's baptism and the meaning of its symbolism.

The idea of the *kerygma* appears again in the Lesson from the Old Testament, which for the Christian speaks of the promise fulfilled at Pentecost. It is continued in the next part of the service: the verses from Psalm 107, received in the light of the Gospel, tell of the thanksgiving which those "saved by the Lord" must offer to him for his goodness (*hesed*) in ransoming his people from the captivity of sin, and healing those who through sin are sick unto death; implicit in the Epistle (1 Cor. 12. 12), which explains the "how" of Baptism, is the thought of Christ's saving work, participation in which proceeds through incorporation into his Body, the Spirit-filled Church; and in Psalm 97. 1, 10-12 the Psalmist pleads for confidence in God who saves and is the Author of all righteousness, and response to his call with obedience and glad thanksgiving.

But with the Gospel (Mark 1. 1-11), the thought of the significance of our Lord's baptism comes into special prominence. Not only does the narrative strike the imagination and is more readily understood than the opening of the discourse with Nicodemus on regeneration (as in the Prayer Book of 1662), but it brings into clear

relief the conception that at every Christian baptism our Lord's own baptism is re-presented as foreshadowing his saving and atoning work which there becomes effective.

The same pattern appears in what follows. In the Homily the theme that in Christ God has fulfilled the promises he made of old time introduces to a summary of the benefits of his creative activity in baptism. But here again direct reference is made to him who "for our sake" (as the Representative Man) "was baptized in Jordan for the remission of sins and there received the Holy Spirit of God".

Similarly, God's saving acts are recited in the Blessing of the Water, but once more attention is focused on him who, sent to "redeem mankind fallen into sin through disobedience", received for man's sake the baptism of repentance, and for man's sake was anointed with the Holy Spirit; and all this leads up to an expression of the fundamental doctrine that in this Sacrament the believer is incorporated with the Body of Christ, and made partaker of his death and resurrection.

Thus from first to last, as it seems, the structure of the service remains constant, and after the candidate has offered an earnest of his desire to rise to newness of life, the climax is reached in the baptism itself, which, as it is set against this background is indeed seen as "the *kerygma* in action", and particularly as the re-presentation of our Lord's own baptism in Jordan.

We add a note on the two "ceremonies after Baptism". As in the office of Baptism of Infants, these are separated from the act of baptism itself; for (contrary to popular ideas on the subject) they are definitely "post-baptismal" ceremonies, and it is baptism, already administered, which gives them their meaning. Thus in regard to the use of the Sign of the Cross, Canon XXX of 1603 (New Canon 33) seems all to the point: the ceremony is defended on the ground of primitive authority and inherent worth, but, as is expressly stated, it is "no part of the substance of the Sacrament". Through this "outward ceremony", it may be said, the newly baptized is signed on the forehead in token that, in his new status in Christ, he is Christ's own property, bearing his Name, and that he will be recognized as such in the hereafter as he "continues Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end" (cf. Ezek. 9. 4-6; Rev. 7. 3; 9. 4; 13. 16). Moreover, it may well be considered that if

consignation is administered with chrism the ceremony is rendered even more impressive, in that at the same time expression is being given to the conception that the newly baptized has been anointed with the Holy Spirit as the child of God.

Similarly, the use of lights—practical consideration, perhaps, accounting for its rise in days when Baptism was administered after dark, as on Easter Eve—emphasizes an important effect of baptism. One of the names by which the rite was known in the early Church was "Illumination"—the illumination by which the darkness of ignorance was dispersed and the light of truth shed upon the soul. The sentiment goes back to New Testament times, as the lines from what is almost certainly an early baptismal hymn in Eph. 5. 14, and the reference to *photisthentes* in Heb. 6. 4, well illustrate.

The Baptism of Infants

Though of shorter and simpler form, the Office of Baptism of Infants is framed on the same lines as that of Baptism of Adults, the same ideas of the Christian *kerygma* and the significance of Christ's baptism being characteristic of its structure.

The benefits of the Sacrament—"the new and heavenly birth", and reception into the Church—are set forth in the Address to "parents and sponsors", and the thought of the grace of Sonship is contained in the Collect. But very soon the pattern of the service makes its appearance.

The Epistle (Gal. 4. 4-7), with its reference to "the fulness of time", the sending forth of the Son that men might receive the adoption of sons and the sending forth of God's Spirit to assure them that in Christ they are indeed "sons", sums up the Christian message of salvation, and serves as a reminder of the "Thou art my Son" and the descent of the Spirit at our Lord's baptism.

Again, what lies behind the Gospel (Matt. 28. 18-20) is equally significant. As the context shows, the writer is employing the language of poetry to express the Christian conviction that baptism was "ordained by Christ Himself", and to show that the dominical authority of baptism has its ground in the Lord's death and resurrection, which transformed John's water-baptism into the Spirit-baptism of the Gospel. But, as we have seen, according to primitive thought the Lord anticipated these "salvation events" in the symbolic act in Jordan, when he came to "fulfil all righteousness"; and he may have given authority to his followers to repeat

this symbolic act when he would be no longer "straightened". At any rate, it seems true to say that bound up with the dominical authority of baptism is the whole Christian message of salvation, and our Lord's own baptism, seen as an expression of it.

More distinctly, the same pattern appears in what follows. In the Homily, the benefits of baptism are described in relation to the Christian message of God's goodness in Christ, and direct reference is made to the Lord's baptism in Jordan; and in the Blessing of the Water, of which we have already spoken, these ideas receive special emphasis. Then, after the Promises, comes the baptism itself.

The pattern may not be so vivid as in the case of the Office of Baptism of Adults; nevertheless, it seems evident that here, too, baptism is set forth as "the *kerygma* in action", and the act itself is seen as a re-presentation of our Lord's own baptism in all its significance.

Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that in the two new Baptismal Offices biblical theology and liturgical worship are closely linked together, and that through the liturgical medium the New Testament teaching on baptism is brought out in a manner which is consistently clear and at times strikingly effective.

[1] Matt. 3. 11; Luke 3. 16 (Q). Perhaps the contrast in Mark 1. 8 (cf. Acts 1. 5; 11. 6) between the Johannine baptism "with water" and the Christian baptism "with holy spirit" reflects the answer of the early Church to the question as to wherein lay the difference between these two baptisms.

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN ROMANS

BARNABAS LINDARS, S.S.F.

THE CHRISTIAN doctrine of the Holy Spirit asserts that the Spirit is God, but at the same time is distinct from the Father and the Son as one of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. This was not officially formulated until late in the fourth century.[1] But it was held then, and has always been maintained, that this dogma is implicit in the New Testament itself. The purpose of this paper is to show how this claim still holds good against the background of a modern critical understanding of the Bible. It will be seen that there is a development of thought within primitive Christianity, and that this reaches its climax in St Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Every stage of the later controversies can be seen in microcosm in the New Testament. I hope that the analysis of the scriptural evidence may also help to clarify our own thought about the Person and work of the Holy Spirit.

First of all let me give a caricature of what most people seem to think. They know that Jews believe in one God, and that Christianity has its own way of expressing this in terms of the Holy Trinity, One God in Three Persons. They therefore assume that the Holy Spirit is something new in Christianity, and does not belong to the Old Testament.

If they read their Bibles intelligently, they soon make a discovery. The Old Testament actually mentions "the Holy Spirit" three times (Ps. 51. 11; Isa. 63. 10,11), and constantly talks about "the Spirit of the Lord", which seems to mean just the same. The Spirit of Yahweh (the Lord) comes upon people, and inspires them to prophesy and to do wonderful things, in very much the same way as the Holy Spirit's activity is described in the New Testament.

The natural reaction to this discovery is to suppose that there is virtually no difference between the Old and New Testaments in this matter. This makes it very hard to understand how Jews and Christians, who hold the same teaching about the Spirit, can nevertheless have such a radical difference in their teaching about the nature of God.

The next refuge after this is to suppose that a new development took place *after* the New Testament was written. And so it is

inferred that, if Christians were true to their own scriptures, they would not hold a doctrine so clearly at variance with them.

The truth is that such ideas grossly over-simplify the facts. Four points need to be observed. (a) There is development *within the Old Testament itself* in the idea of the Spirit of Yahweh. (b) There is then an important phase *between the Old and New Testaments*, in which further development takes place, and "the Holy Spirit" is adopted as a normal term. (c) It is also possible to trace development *within the New Testament* to a doctrinal position which approximates closely to the orthodox doctrine of the Holy Spirit. (d) Finally, in this development *Paul in Romans* holds the key place.

We shall take these four observations as the headings for the argument which now follows.

The Old Testament Development

We have to begin with primitive ideas. In old Israel it was felt that God, the king (or chieftain), and the people were a closely-knit psychological unity. God was above and beyond his people, but he was the real source of their life. Their life depended on the maintenance of the proper relationship with him. The people had a strong sense of solidarity. The achievements of any one man were not thought of individualistically, but were subservient to the whole group. The king acted on behalf of the people, and the people claimed a share in him. His actions, whether in war or in judicial government, were the practical maintenance of the life of the people. As such, they mediated the divine life, the true source of the people's well-being. The great strength of soul with which the king performed his functions as God's vicegerent was thus evidence of his special capacity to contain the Spirit of God.

Other people had a special share of the Spirit of Yahweh, notably the prophets, whose frenzies marked them out as supernaturally endowed. We remember how, when Saul met a band of prophets, "the Spirit of God came mightily upon him, and he prophesied among them" (1 Sam. 10. 10).

If we take this psychological unity of God, the king, and the people seriously, we cannot think of the Spirit of Yahweh as in any sense something separate from God himself. It is more true to say that the Spirit is a fluid extension of God, coming upon or into

people with greater or less power, according to their capacity of soul.

With this in mind we can look at the two great metaphors for the Spirit, which are found throughout the Bible. One is the wind, or the breath of man (spirit, wind, and breath are in fact one word, *ruach*; Greek, *pneuma*). This is derived from the fact that the breath of man seems to be his life-force. When his breath stops at death, his strength departs also. The Spirit of God is thus comparable to the breath of man.

The other metaphor is water. Gen. 2. 5-7 suggests that this is due to observation of vegetation. Water is a fluid which seeps into dry ground and causes living plants to grow. It comes from God, because it drops from the sky. The Spirit of God is the life of God, coming in the wind which enters into man and forms his breath, and coming in the rain and dew which make plant-life spring up.

The big change in Hebrew thought comes round about the time of the Captivity. The development of the doctrine of God is caused by the struggle with polytheism. The Israelites discovered that *their* God was fundamentally different from *other* gods, and was superior to them. Alongside belief in God there had always been an awareness of hosts of invasive spirits, some good, some bad, in every stone that looked menacing and every running spring and every green tree that shook its leaves. Such a primitive animism may not seem compatible with the strong sense of racial solidarity with God, but we must beware of over-simplification. In the later period these good and bad spirits cease to be connected with natural phenomena, but are just demons that inhabit the air. And the "other gods", which had once been Yahweh's rivals, are reduced to the status of demons. Meanwhile Israel's God, Yahweh, the Lord of hosts, becomes the great God of all the earth.

The result of this is that God is more remote. The Spirit remains the fluid extension of the divine life, but is thought of not so much as the invasive presence of God himself as almost an intermediate power. Because God is the God of all the earth, there is more emphasis on the way in which the covenant constitutes the Jews as specially his people. The Spirit now becomes the force which enables the people to fulfil their side in the covenant relationship, cleansing them from their sins and sanctifying them. We see this in Ezek. 36. 24-8 (the new covenant) and 37. 14 (the dry bones).

This new emphasis on the Spirit as the power of God to cleanse and to sanctify is capable of a very personal and individual application (e.g. Ps. 51). But it retains the strong corporate sense as well. Seeing that the Jews are no longer the exclusive people of God, because he is the God of all the peoples of the earth, it is the Spirit that specially constitutes them his peculiar people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation. Consequently the Spirit has a special function in the eschatological hopes of Judaism. When the Day of the Lord comes, and all his enemies are overthrown, and the kingdom of God is established, then *all* the people will be filled with a full measure of the Spirit, sons and daughters, old men and young men, servants and handmaids, in fact everybody (Joel 2. 28f). The Church believed that this prophecy had come true in its own experience (Acts 2. 16-21).

The Inter-Testamental Period

But before we come on to that, we must spend a few moments on the thought of the late Judaism, which is the immediate background to the New Testament. The characteristic religious attitudes of the post-exilic period become even more marked. God remains very remote. There is at once a greater sense of his universality, and a greater self-consciousness on the part of each man of his own individuality before God. It is a time when various intermediaries between God and man are introduced, mostly from the Persian angelology. Yahweh, the name of God, begins to drop out of use. It is too holy. There is a tendency to call him by his attributes, e.g. the Most High, to avoid familiarity. This tendency almost has the effect of detaching certain aspects of God as quasi-personal intermediaries. The most notable example is the personification of the Wisdom of God as the agent of creation. But this does not happen in the case of the Spirit of God, as we might perhaps have expected.[2]

The fact is that in this period the Spirit is rarely mentioned. The old phrase"the Spirit of Yahweh" has to be abandoned, because of the reticence concerning the name of God. It is at this stage that "the Holy Spirit" becomes normal, though a variety of other expressions is used. Two classes of usage can be distinguished. There is first the continuation of the Old Testament idea of the Spirit as the divine energy of prophetic inspiration.[3] This also goes on into the Rabbinic period.[4] But more important is the

second group of contexts, which speak of cleansing and enlightening and sanctification, with an intense personal devotion to God. The best examples of this are to be found in the Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms.[5]

We thus have the New Testament phrase "the Holy Spirit", especially in personal religion. But the Spirit is never so detached from God as the idea of Wisdom, in spite of a certain similarity. We shall see in the New Testament that the "Holy Spirit" is used more widely for all the range of meanings of the old "Spirit of Yahweh". And we shall have to bear in mind that the original notion of a fluid extension of God remains regulative, in spite of the tendency to develop intermediaries.

The reason why the Spirit was not detached from God in this way, in spite of its mediating function, was the presence of angelology in late Jewish thought. In the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline we have the first mention (but probably not the actual origin) of the idea of the two spirits in man, one a good spirit and the other evil, which struggle for the mastery of man's soul.[6] This is a recurring theme both in Christian and in Jewish literature.[7] We shall see that there are important hints of it in St Paul.

Now in the Manual of Discipline these spirits are both described as angels. The good spirit is called the Prince of Lights and also the Angel of God's Truth. The evil spirit is called the Angel of Darkness, and is clearly to be identified with Satan. In this kind of thought it is obvious that a *personal* idea of the Spirit is needed. It is significant that when the personal idea is required an angel is used to express it. Thus in late Judaism the spirit of truth can be differentiated from the rather similar idea of the Holy Spirit, which remains a fluid extension of God and is not a *personal* intermediary.

The New Testament

So we come to the New Testament. When John the Baptist preached the baptism of repentance, he promised that there was one coming after him who would baptize with Holy Spirit and with fire. This is the typical eschatological idea of the end of the Old Testament period, in which the Day of the Lord is a day of judgement, the enemies of God are burnt up, but the people of God are filled with Holy Spirit. The late Jewish preoccupation with personal cleansing brings into this a more individual spiritual

application. But it is all quite consistent with what I have called the original fluid idea of the Spirit.

This is what Jesus himself fulfilled. Like a king in old Israel, he received the soul-strength of the spirit of God to inaugurate the kingdom, in the experience vividly described in the Baptism narratives. He then preached the kingdom, teaching the people by words and signs, so that they could apprehend the deep inward disposition of the heart required for the kingdom. He thus actually performed the inward cleansing, the groundwork of personal sanctification, in the hearts of those who saw and listened and understood. They were thus prepared for the sort of thing which is described in the prophecy of Joel, when Jesus had conquered sin and death by his glorious resurrection, and the era of the Spirit had arrived. They had a right to expect the Spirit to have free course among them, to fill them like new wine, and to be manifest in words and works of power.

Now I want to contrast with this the developed idea of the Spirit, which (I propose) results in part at least from the creative thought of St Paul. At the end of the New Testament period it is possible to speak of the Spirit in a *personal* way, and even to think of him as in some sense *detached from* and *over-against* God. This appears in the Lukan literature (Luke and Acts), where the Spirit seems to act in his own right (Acts 15. 28; 16. 6-9),[8] and is something that can be *given* to a person (Acts 2. 38; 5. 32). A notable example is what Luke makes of Matt. 7. 11, which reads: "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?" Luke 11. 13 is word for word the same, except that it ends, "how much more shall your heavenly Father *give the Holy Spirit* to them that ask him?" So the Spirit is interchangeable with the Father's good gifts. He is not only detachable from God, but need not even be personal.

The background of this development is to be found in Ephesians, which I take to be the work of a "Paulinist", but not of St Paul himself. In Eph. 4. 1-16 the writer takes the list of the *effects* of the Spirit which Paul had given in 1 Cor. 12, and turns them into the *gifts* of the ascended Christ. In other words we are here approaching the idea that the Holy Spirit is something that is given by our Lord. This is hardly the same thing as the original view of the Spirit as an extension of the Father himself, filling according to their

several capacities those who are incorporated into the Spirit-filled Christ.

We must now turn to the earlier epistles of St Paul, to see how this change has come about.

The Pauline Development

For this purpose we have to arrange the epistles in their probable chronological order. 1 and 2 Thessalonians show Paul's basic standpoint. Galatians and 1 and 2 Corinthians show real development of theology of the Spirit.[9] The climax comes in Romans. After that the captivity epistles, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, contribute nothing to the discussion.[10] Nor do the Pastorals. Ephesians is probably not by Paul, but exhibits (as we have seen) the post-Pauline point of view. Thus the series ends with Romans.

There is little to be gained from 1 and 2 Thessalonians. But what there is gives an unmistakable picture. In 1 Thess. 1. 5 St Paul says, "Our gospel came . . . in power and in the Holy Ghost." This shows the Spirit as the divine energy flowing through Paul in his preaching. Then in the following verse we are shown the effect of the preaching on the hearers: "Ye received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost." So the Thessalonians, in spite of heavy odds against them, evinced a joy that could only be regarded as the direct outcome of the Holy Spirit within them. From 5. 19-20—"Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesyings"—it seems clear that this joy took a vigorous form. Probably it was that exaltation of spirits which often found expression in speaking with tongues (glossolalia). This is the earliest recorded *effect* of the Christian experience of the Holy Spirit (cf. Acts 2. 1-12, Pentecost). Paul also accepts from late Judaism the idea of personal cleansing and sanctification as a special effect of the Holy Spirit. We find this mentioned in 2 Thess. 2. 13.

In Galatians a new element appears. Most of the references in this epistle are to the fact that the Galatians received the Spirit through faith. But at one point Paul defines the sanctifying effect of the Spirit in a special way. In 4. 6 he says, "God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father." Thus the effect of the Spirit—violent, joyful, as it often is—is most truly understood as the divine influence to conform our lives to the pattern of Jesus, the Son of God, making us true sons.[11]

It is in the same epistle that we also come across the late Jewish

idea of the two spirits in man. This is the passage 5. 16-26, about the way that "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit". Although the similarity to the Manual of Discipline is considerable, in this case the Spirit is not personified, but is the fluid extension of God in deadly warfare with the forces of "the flesh".

When we turn to 1 Corinthians we find that St Paul is obliged to clarify a number of misunderstandings. There is the Spirit mentioned in connection with Paul's preaching again (2. 4). We also have a good deal about what one may call the positive side in the idea of the two spirits in man—i.e. what it means for the Holy Spirit to be the active force for good in man. This comes in a difficult paragraph (2. 10-16), which seems to mean this. Just as our own self-knowledge depends upon our capacity to stand apart from ourselves and view ourselves objectively, so our knowledge of the unknowable God depends upon the Spirit of God making the things of God plain. Because we *have* the Spirit of God, we have, as it were, God himself looking at God within us, and so we see into God. In other words, "we have the mind of Christ".[12] Here Paul is getting very near to the point of personifying the Spirit over-against God.

The same positive side of the two spirits idea continues through the next few chapters. So Paul can say that because "the Spirit of God dwelleth in you" you are "the holy temple of God" (3. 16f), and so "your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you . . . and ye are not your own" (6. 19). This is the ground for his very strong disciplinary regulations. The same kind of thought is reflected in a rather different connection in 10. 21. Here Paul asserts that communion in the Body of Christ is absolutely incompatible with eating meat offered to idols, i.e. communion with devils.[13]

Paul is deeply concerned with the disunity of the church at Corinth. This denies the one Spirit, whose influence is bound to be unifying (12. 13). This leads him to differentiate satisfactorily at long last between the various *effects* of the Spirit—glossolalia, prophecy, miracles, etc. He decides that all such phenomena are subservient to the essential factor in our sanctification, which is charity. This is what most truly conforms us to Christ (ch. 12 and 13).

In 2 Corinthians a further idea is introduced. Paul here admits that he is very conscious that our capacity to receive the Spirit of

God is very limited. Our vessels are not large enough to contain the ocean. At our baptism we could not receive God in his fullness, but only the *earnest* of the Spirit, the *arrabon* (1. 22; 3. 17f; 5. 5). And we find again that the Spirit's sanctifying effects include charity (6. 6), and the unity of the Body (12. 18; cf. 13. 14, the communion of the Holy Ghost).

There is also a reference to the two spirits doctrine in 2 Cor. 11. 14. This is particularly interesting, for it is not concerned with the influence of the one Spirit (the positive side of the doctrine). It is only the negative side, the control of Satan over men's wills. Such persons may appear to be apostles of Christ, but are really "deceitful workers" (v. 13). In exactly the same way the spirit of evil likes to masquerade as the spirit of good. As v. 14 puts it, "even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light". If Paul had been consistent, he would have said the Holy Spirit rather than an angel of light. But he is only speaking by way of illustration. So he thoughtlessly reproduces precisely the late Jewish doctrine of the two angelic spirits which we found in the Manual of Discipline. It falls far below the level of his thought-out doctrine, which we have seen in Galatians and 1 Corinthians, and find again in Romans. We thus see both the relation to the late Jewish teaching, and the difference from it, in Paul's thought.[14]

And so now at last we come to the climax of the development in Romans. We still have a number of references to the effects of the Spirit. In all of them Paul has got beyond the cruder ideas which had to occupy his attention in 1 Corinthians. He is only concerned with the Spirit's work of sanctification (5. 5; 8. 11), making us the adopted sons of God (8. 14-16; cf. Gal. 4. 6). The idea of the two spirits in man reappears in his handling of the problem of the Jewish law. The damaging effects of the law are incompatible with the life-giving effects of the Spirit (7. 6; 8. 2; 9. 15).

Now when we first examined this idea of the two spirits, we saw that there was a strong tendency to treat them in a *personal* way. In the Manual of Discipline they are accordingly good and bad angels. St Paul followed the same idea, but did not let it develop in the direction of demon-possession. So far he had concentrated on the effects of these opposite influences, and was not troubled by the metaphysical question what exactly they were. The spirit of evil, or error, was in his view the flesh or the law or

whatever evil influence there might be. The spirit of good, or truth, was the influence of God, and so he naturally thought of it as the Holy Spirit, the fluid extension of God, capable of inhabiting and informing the minds of men.

But the tendency to personalize these spirits is irresistible. It is easy to identify the spirit of evil with the demons or Satan (cf. 1 Cor. 10. 21). And so the spirit of good, which is none other than the Holy Spirit of God, is regarded as having a personality of its own—of *his* own—somehow apart from and over against God, although he is in fact inseparable from the person of God himself.

This is what we find in the great climax of the argument in Romans. The first hint comes in 8. 16: "The Spirit himself [or itself] beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God." This witness is, of course, seen in the fruits of the Spirit, the achievement of a life conformed to the pattern of Jesus the Son of God. But Paul probably thinks also of the spontaneous joy and praise of the Christian who knows himself to be the recipient of the Spirit; for such outbursts (e.g. glossolalia) still seemed to him to be genuine manifestations of the Spirit.

Then, thinking of the idea of the earnest (the *arrabon*) of the Spirit which he had put forward in 2 Corinthians, Paul views the whole Christian life as a struggle towards the fulness of redemption. His words apply both to the individual and to the corporate life of the Church, and even extend to the transformation of the entire created order. In this process the Spirit is bringing good out of evil and order out of chaos. And in the life of each Christian the Spirit's presence can be felt as a personal force within us, yet far deeper and stronger than our own human spirit. This is expressed in 8. 26-7. It may be helpful to give the paraphrase of these words from Sanday and Headlam's commentary: "Nor are we alone in our struggle. The Holy Spirit supports our helplessness. Left to ourselves, we do not know what prayers to offer or how to offer them. But in those inarticulate groans which rise from the depths of our being, we recognize the voice of none other than the Holy Spirit. He makes intercession; and his intercession is sure to be answered. For God who searches the inmost recesses of the heart can interpret his own Spirit's meaning. He knows that his own will regulates its petitions and that they are offered for men dedicated to his service."

So we reach the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit

is the fluid extension of God—he "proceedeth from the Father", as the Nicene Creed says (rightly omitting the *filioque*!). Yet he is not a kind of pervasive force, like wireless waves. He is truly *personal*, as fully personal as God our Father is personal, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

After Romans it becomes possible to speak of the Spirit in this personal way. We find this in the Last Discourses in St John. The teaching here about the "other Comforter, the Spirit of truth" is not directly derived from St Paul, but is only possible in the post-Pauline climate of thought. Luke in the Acts easily finds himself speaking in a way that detaches the Spirit from God, as we have seen. He even shares with Ephesians the tendency to go a stage further and *depersonalize* the Spirit once more. This illustrates the way in which the genuine doctrine has been constantly debased in Chrsitian thought.

The fact is that we can only speak of the Spirit as a person if we clearly grasp his essential unity with the Father, because he is a fluid extension of the one God. But to speak of him in a personal way inevitably involves giving the impression of detaching him from God. This is not too dangerous, provided that we do indeed speak of him as a person. But to speak of the Spirit in a detached way, without giving him the attributes of a fully divine personality, is utterly false. For then the Spirit becomes something less than God.

When it was said that Jesus at his baptism was "anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power" (Acts 10. 38), this originally meant simply that the extension of God filled him to capacity to do God's will as his vicegerent on earth. The poetry of the dove, symbolizing the downrush of Spirit upon him, has given rise to a detached, impersonal view of the Spirit in the literal-minded, and the persistence of the dove in Christian art has not been helpful. But the truth of the matter is that Jesus was filled with the living God, the Holy Spirit within him making a response of personal love to the Father's love in every fibre of his being.

The Church believes that this, which was seen in the incarnate life of our Lord, is true of the invisible being of God himself, who is eternally Three Persons in One Substance. In this doctrine the old Hebrew idea of the Spirit of Yahweh is not lost. It is immeasurably enriched by the knowledge that the Spiritual Outflow from God is himself fully personal.

It was not easy for the Church to reach this position. Naturally enough, the Christians of the early centuries continued to think of the Spirit as an impersonal effluence of divine power. To personalize the Spirit always carried with it the danger of detaching it from God, and subordinating it to him. Some of the Gnostic systems included the Spirit in their hierarchies of intermediaries between God and man. Arianism virtually made of the Spirit an angel. It was not until St Basil of Caesarea wrote *De Spiritu Sancto* in the fourth century, that the way was cleared for unambiguous formulation of the orthodox doctrine. Then was recaptured the truth of the mystery, which had already been expressed in the inspired words of St Paul in Romans.

1 Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

2 In Wisd. 9. 17 the Holy Spirit occurs in poetic parallelism with Wisdom. This is the only genuine instance of the Holy Spirit=the Spirit of God in the Apocrypha.

3 See the references in the introductory chapter of E. W. Winstanley, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (1908).

4 Bab. Talmud *Pes.* 117a, *Meg.* 7a, *BB.* 122a, *San.* 11a.

5 I.Q.H. 7. 6; 16. 7, 12; 12. 13; 17. 26. Cf. Mishna *Sotah* 9. 15 (=Talmud *AZ.* 20b).

6 I.Q.S. 3. 13–4. 26, especially 3. 18–4. 1.

7 Test. Benj. 6. 1–7. 2; Test. Asher 1. 3-9; Test. Judah 20. 1. In Ep. Barnabas 18 it is a doctrine of the Two Ways, governed by good and bad angels respectively. The Two Ways reappear in Didache 1, but the angel spirits are not mentioned. Similarly in the rabbinic literature it becomes good and evil impulses (*yetsarim*), cf. Mishna *Berakoth* 9. 5, Talmud *Ber.* 5a, 61a. For the origin of the doctrine, see A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes* (1954), ch. 7.

8 On Acts 16. 7 "the Spirit of Jesus" see note 11.

9 The argument is not affected by the alternative theory that Galatians was written *after* 1 and 2 Corinthians.

10 In Phil. 1. 19 "the supply (*epichoregia*) of the Spirit of Jesus Christ" we find Paul himself slipping into the manner of speaking about the Spirit which characterizes the later N.T. period. He had already used the verb *epichoregeo* in connection with the Spirit in Gal. 3. 5. The choice of the unusual word seems to be intended to concentrate attention on the Spirit's *effects* in the recipients.

11 The idea of "the Spirit of his Son", or "the Spirit of Jesus", is a frequent source of confusion—and not only in modern times, as the attempts of copyists to avoid the difficulty show. Let it be said once and for all that "the Spirit of Jesus" is not the risen Christ spiritually present, but is the Spirit who filled Jesus in his earthly life and is now generally available to those who are incorporated into him. It must be remembered that the idea that the Spirit is an extension of God himself is primary, and is common to both primitive Christianity and the Jewish background. On the other hand the full divinity of the Son had hardly yet been reached. The first Christians knew the Son as a person, and had to discover that he is divine. They

believed in the divine Spirit, and had to discover that he is personal. This should be borne in mind in reading Rom. 8. 1-17.

[12] I.e., our understanding is in conformity with the wholly true and acceptable outlook of Christ, because we are enlightened by the same divine Spirit who filled him.

[13] This shows one of the wider implications of moral dualism in Paul's thought. Now that we have the two spirits doctrine firmly anchored in late Jewish thought, we can use it in analysing Paul's theology without having to import the whole range of Iranian and Hellenistic dualistic speculation. The possibilities of its use as a key to the thought of the epistles has not yet been sufficiently investigated.

[14] In Eph. 2. 2 "the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience" is also reminiscent of the doctrine.

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT AND THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

L. W. BARNARD

AN OFFICIAL biography of the life of Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-89), sometime Hulsean and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Canon of St Paul's, and Bishop of Durham, has never been written, in deference to his own wishes, although the valuable collection of Memories and Appreciations edited by G. R. Eden and F. C. Macdonald [1] goes some way to remedy this deficiency. Lightfoot was one of the greatest minds that have adorned the Church of England in its long and chequered history; he was at once eminent as an ecclesiastical divine and statesman and as a New Testament and Patristic scholar of unrivalled erudition and sobriety of judgement. His industry was phenomenal—work, it has been said, was the breath of his life—and it is a poignant fact that within three days of his death, at the early age of sixty-one, he was still working, amid intervals of exhaustion, on his revised edition of *Clement of Rome;* at the end his pen literally dropped from his hand in an unfinished sentence of the fragmentary essay on "St. Peter's Visit to Rome"—recalling the death of another Durham saint and historian, the Venerable Bede.

The Victorian era, the scene of Lightfoot's labours, was one of momentous change in many departments of life and thought and, not least, in those of religion and theology. New ideas were everywhere making themselves felt and the influx of fresh knowledge created problems for religious faith and slowly filtered through to the general public. There was, especially from 1860, a widespread interest in theological questions, which is shown by the space they occupy in the columns of newspapers and periodicals. Predominant among these was the *Fortnightly Review,* which, for many educated people, had the authority of a Gospel, and which almost always contained an attack on received Christian beliefs as part of a definitely hostile editorial policy.

The attack against traditional Christian views was not however confined to literary periodicals and the intellectual *élite.* A formidable attack against the traditional view of early Christian history had been launched by German scholars which, if not squarely

faced, would give the impression that orthodox Christianity had no reply to make. This attack was supported by that massive and detailed learning beloved of the Teutonic mind, which gained German scholarship an immense reputation—indeed, in some quarters, as at the present time, its findings were regarded as above criticism. On the historical side this attack was concentrated in the writings of the so-called Tübingen School under the leadership of Ferdinand Christian Baur. The fundamental tenet of this school was that the early history of the Church could only be satisfactorily explained on the theory that there was a deep-seated conflict between St Paul and St Peter and the other Apostles and that most of the New Testament documents had been written to conceal this fundamental opposition. Only three of the Pauline Epistles were genuine and the Acts of the Apostles was largely *tendenziöz*, i.e., a brilliant attempt to cover up the last traces of the conflict before the emergence of the Catholic Church which required unanimity among the Apostles from the beginning. It is not without significance that both Baur and Strauss, the leading exponents of this school, had been philosophers before turning to the study of theology and church history and for them it was the Hegelian philosophy which formed the real clue to the development of Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Christianity.[2]

Lightfoot met this challenge with unrivalled learning and erudition. As early as 1865, in the preface to the first edition of his commentary on Galatians, he wrote: "I feel very confident that the historical views of the Tübingen school are too extravagant to obtain any wide or lasting hold over the minds of men. But even in extreme cases mere denunciation may be unjust and is certainly unavailing. Moreover, for our own sakes we should try and discover the element of truth which underlies even the greatest exaggerations of able men, and correct our impressions thereby." [3] It was his dissertation on "St. Paul and the Three" and the three essays on the Essenes in the commentary on Colossians which showed beyond doubt the insecure foundations on which the Tübingen theory was built. In the former Lightfoot posed the problem thus: "What were the relations existing between St. Paul and the Apostles of the Circumcision? How far do the later sects of Ebionites on the one hand and Marcionites on the other, as they appear in direct antagonism in the second century, represent opposing principles

cherished side by side within the bosom of the Church and sheltering themselves under the names, or (as some have ventured to say) sanctioned by the authority, of the leading Apostles? What in fact is the secret history—if there be any secret history—of the origin of Catholic Christianity?"[4] His solution was that a fair and reasonable account could be given of the origins and development of the early Church, and of the relations between its more prominent leaders, on the assumption that the early Christian documents were authentic; recourse to such words as "fabrication", "spurious", and "tendentious" he believed to be both unscientific and unscholarly: "we may well be content to rest on the broad and direct statements in the Acts and Epistles, which declare the relations between St. James and St. Paul. A habit of suspicious interpretation, which neglects plain facts and dwells on doubtful allusions, is as unhealthy in theological criticism as in social life, and not more conducive to truth."[5]

Lightfoot's great commentaries on the Pauline Epistles were but one department of his life's work. The second was his work on post-biblical Christian literature and history and in this his great historical gifts and mastery of intricate detail found full scope. The trustworthiness of the late first and early second-century Fathers had been impugned by the Tübingen attack and Lightfoot believed that his work on these writers was the supreme task of his life. "To the disciples of Baur the rejection of the Ignatian Epistles is an absolute necessity of their theological position. The ground would otherwise be withdrawn from under them, and their reconstruction of early Christian history would fall in ruins on their heads."[6] And Lightfoot justified his work on the early Fathers in these words: "I have been reproached by my friends for allowing myself to be diverted from the more congenial task of commenting on St. Paul's Epistles; but the importance of the position seemed to me to justify the expenditure of much time and labour in 'repairing a breach' not indeed in 'the House of the Lord' itself, but in the immediately outlying buildings."[7] Early in his career he had contemplated a complete edition of the Apostolic Fathers which, due to pressure of other duties, was never completed. But in 1869 he published the first edition of his *Clement of Rome*, although at that time there was only one imperfect MS. of the two Epistles known—in the Codex Alexandrinus at the British

Museum. These works were edited with the same attention to textual criticism and linguistic detail and the same aptness of comment as distinguished his biblical commentaries. At the end of 1875 the Metropolitan Bryennios published a complete text of both the Epistles from a MS. found at Constantinople and early in 1876 the University Library at Cambridge purchased a MS. of the Syriac New Testament which was found to include the two Epistles. Lightfoot promptly set to work on these new MS. discoveries and in 1877 he published a second volume as an appendix to the former book. On the greatly enlarged second edition of these volumes he was at work when he died and the last words which he wrote were part of an uncompleted essay on St Peter in Rome:

> Now I cannot find that any writers for the first two centuries and more speak of St. Peter as bishop of Rome. Indeed their language is inconsistent with the assignment of this position to him. . . . The language of Irenaeus (iii. 3) again is still more explicit. He describes the Church of Rome as founded by the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who appointed Linus bishop . . . ; after Linus, Anencletus; after Anencletus "in the *third* place from the Apostles Clement is elected to the bishopric", and the others, when any numbers are given, are numbered accordingly, so that Xystus is "the sixth from the Apostles", and Eleutherus the contemporary of Irenaeus "holds the office of the episcopate in the twelfth place from the Apostles". This is likewise the enumeration in the anonymous author of the treatise against Artemon (Eus. H.E. v. 28) probably Hippolytus, who numbers Victor "the thirteenth from Peter".[8]

Lightfoot's work on St Clement was however dwarfed by his monumental study of St Ignatius and St Polycarp.[9] He had early been attracted by the Ignatian controversy and his edition of these Fathers was already well advanced before he left Cambridge, although he was unable to bring it to completion until 1885 after more than six and a half years of his Durham episcopate. Of this great work Hort speaks these measured words:

> The edition of Ignatius and Polycarp, which forms the second part of Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers, "was the motive", he tells us, "and the core of the whole". . . . Originally, like many unprejudiced students, he accepted as genuine only those three (or rather abridgements of three) out of seven Ignatian epistles which Cureton had found in an early Syriac manuscript; and the notes which Lightfoot originally wrote were framed on this assumption. He never saw any

probabality in the opinion still held by many, that all the seven alike are spurious, and at last he convinced himself that the seven epistles unabridged were genuine. He was partly led to this result by the arguments of Zahn's Ignatius von Antiochien (1873).[10]

Lightfoot's position has never been seriously challenged by competent scholars—tribute enough to the breadth, clarity, thoroughness of treatment and sagacity of judgement which characterizes this remarkable work of more than 2,000 pages.

In these volumes on the Apostolic Fathers Lightfoot found full scope for his historical gifts as he unravelled the relation of the Emperors Nero, Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian to the early Christian Church. He left no stone unturned to get at the exact meaning of historical texts and exercised a judgement independent of other workers in the early Patristic field although he was conversant with everything that had been written in his chosen subjects in most European languages. His method of work was characteristic of this independence, for in the great bulk of his literary labours he never employed an amanuensis and rarely allowed anyone to verify his references. In passing sheets through the press Lightfoot spared no pains to ensure completeness of detail; one sheet of Ignatius was kept back for months to enable him to add an English rendering which would preserve the play upon words in *kakodaimone* in the Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom of St Ignatius.[11] His method of work was to master a subject thoroughly, storing the materials in his mind rather than making systematic notes. The remarkable accuracy of his memory and his vast knowledge of the early Christian period then enabled him to write continuously and rapidly with few or no books of reference at hand, and with only a "ver." in the margin, here and there, where future verification was required. Lightfoot also possessed, in marked degree, the power of taking up the thread of his work immediately after interruptions (and these were not infrequent during his episcopate).

We must now give some estimate of the characteristics and permanent value of his works on the Apostolic Fathers. The first is clarity and precision. Such qualities are not universally found in students of early Christian history and doctrine; Lightfoot possessed them to a supreme degree and they enabled the full force of his arguments to be immediately apprehended. As an example

of his clarity in marshalling evidence we may instance the section on the Early Roman succession in *Clement*, Vol. i,[12] which is a masterly appraisal of a highly complicated and difficult problem. Step by step Lightfoot examines and unravels the lists of Roman Bishops and reaches the conclusion that the earliest and most trustworthy tradition is that found in Hegesippus and Irenaeus which was later adopted by Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and Rufinus. In this the names of St Peter and St Paul are followed by Linus, Anencletus or Cletus, Clemens, Euarestus. The Liberian list, which dates from A.D. 354, is shown to be confused and untrustworthy, its statements often being at variance with known history, and its notices of time irreconcileable one with another. Lightfoot was however able to establish, by critical analysis, that the original groundwork of the Liberian list gave the same sequence of names as that found in Hegesippus and Irenaeus. Lightfoot's virtue of clarity of exposition nowhere finds fuller scope than in this discussion of the Roman succession and in his demonstration of the genuineness of the seven Epistles of St Ignatius. In spite of the passage of years it cannot be said that his results have been overthrown or even much improved on.

To Lightfoot's marvellous lucidity was added the virtue of precision. All of his work in biblical and post-biblical Christian literature was based upon the central conviction that the only safe way to the meaning of a writer was through faith in his language and therefore through the exact investigation of grammar and vocabulary. Examples of his method may be picked at random from the commentaries on St Clement and St Ignatius. Thus in commenting on the quotation in 1 Clem. xlvi. 8,[13] which is attributed to our Lord, Lightfoot gives three reasons for preferring the Syriac reading:

(1) This is farther from the language of the canonical Gospels and therefore is more likely to have been changed.
(2) Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* iii. 18, so reads the passage in the Roman Clement.
(3) The word "turn aside" explains the sequel "turned aside (i.e. perverted) (not one) but many" it being Clement's manner to take up and comment on a leading word in his quotations. Lightfoot then adduces no less than eighteen examples of this from the Epistle concluding: "I have collected these examples, because this characteristic determines the readings in three

passages of interest (here and Ch. xxv and lvii, cf. also li), where there are variations."

Lightfoot believed that there was no substitute for accurate knowledge and no short cuts which could by-pass a philological discipline. He had but little time for that subtlety and ingenuity which could wrench words from their contexts and base its reconstruction of early Christian history on a selection of texts which are made to support an *a priori* argument. Consider this passage which has not lost its relevance for the contemporary theological scene:

> Ingenuity often wears the mask of criticism, but it is not unfrequently the caricature of criticism. Ingenuity is not necessarily divination; it is not wholesome self-restraint, is not the sober weighing of probabilities, is not the careful consideration of evidence. Criticism is all these which are wanting to its spurious counterfeit. Yet Volkmar has succeeded in carrying two or three notable writers with him. "[Volkmari] sententiam. . . . Baurio placuisse semper admiratus sum," says Hilgenfeld (Clem. Rom. Ep. p. xxxviii, ed. 2). But why should he have wondered? No man has shown himself more ready to adopt the wildest speculations, if they fell in with his own preconceived theories, than Baur, especially in his later days—speculations which in not a few cases have been falsified by direct evidence since discovered. Nothing has exercised a more baneful influence on criticism in the country of critics than the fascination of his name. While he has struck out some lines which have stimulated thought, and thus have not been unfruitful in valuable results, the glamour of his genius has on the whole exercised a fatal effect on the progress of *a sober and discriminating study of the early records of Christianity*.[14]

The second characteristic of Lightfoot's work on the Apostolic Fathers is his sense of history. The second half of the nineteenth century saw a revival in historical studies in England. During the Restoration period and the early years of the eighteenth century England had possessed a notable school of historians but for the next hundred years history, in spite of the great names of Gibbon and Macaulay, fell into neglect. The revival of interest, according to Dr Eliott-Binns,[15] came about through the Darwinian theory which revealed Nature at work in time. However, the transference of this hypothesis *en bloc* to the sphere of human history caused the part which human personalities play in shaping its course to be

undervalued. To have traced out fully the development of an idea or an institution was to have accounted for it.

Lightfoot was first and foremost an historian who with magnificent thoroughness searched every chink within a limited area—indeed Acton once spoke of "our three Cambridge historians, Maine, Lightfoot, Maitland", each a pioneer in his own special department of research and each a name of significance for universal history.[16] But in contrast to some academic historians Lightfoot had a strong sense of the movement of history and the diversities of character which have played a part in forming its web and woof. This he was able to employ to the full in tracing the interaction of the early Church with Roman history in his two great works.

As an example we may choose the solution of the question of the two Domitillas—a brilliant piece of detective work—which for Lightfoot was the prolegomenon to the more important question of the relationship of the two persons named Clemens—Clement the Consul and Clement the Bishop. Were they really one and the same person as Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, and Harnack were disposed to believe? Lightfoot examines the evidence impartially and then reaches this conclusion which is worth quoting fully:

> Is it (i.e. the theory of identification) not burdened with this great improbability, that a Bishop of Rome in the first century should not only have held consular office, but have been so intimately connected with the reigning emperor, as to have sons designated for the imperial purple, and that nevertheless all authentic writers who mention Clement the Bishop should have overlooked the fact? Is it easy to conceive that Irenaeus, who visited Rome a little more than half a century after the consul's death . . . should have omitted all reference to his high position in the state? . . . .
>
> But, besides the difficulty of explaining the ignorance of Christian writers . . . a still greater objection remains. This is the incompatibility of the two functions, which would thus be united in one person. It would have strained the conscience and taxed the resources of any man in that age to reconcile even the profession of a Christian with the duties of the consular magistracy; but to unite with it the highest office in the most prominent Church of Christendom would have been to attempt a sheer impossibility, and only the clearest evidence would justify us in postulating such an anomaly . . . .

> But a still greater and to my mind insuperable objection to the theory, which identifies the writer of the epistle with the cousin of Domitian, is the style and character of the document itself. Is it possible to conceive this letter as written by one . . . who was imbued with the thoughts and feelings of a Roman noble; who about this very time held the most ancient and honourable office in the state in conjunction with the emperor; who lived in an age of literary dilettantism and Greek culture; who must have mixed in the same circles with Martial and Statius and Juvenal, with Tacitus and the younger Pliny; and in whose house Quintilian lived as the tutor of his sons, then designated by the emperor as the future rulers of the world? Would not the style, the diction, the thoughts, the whole complexion of the letter, have been very different? It might not perhaps have been less Christian, but it would certainly have been more classical—at once more Roman and more Greek—and less Jewish, than it is.[17]

That is the conclusion of one who was no mere academic dry as dust historian but of one who knew from pastoral experience the varieties which human character exhibits. Lightfoot's sense of historical probability and masculine good sense saved him from much senseless historical and theological hair splitting.

A feature of Lightfoot's work was his use of inscriptions, coins, and archaeological evidence. The second half of the nineteenth century was an age of discovery in these fields and new evidence relevant to early Christian history was constantly appearing. In the work on St Clement [18] he made full use of Roman coins and inscriptions to elucidate the Imperial background and household. Lightfoot notes that the inscriptions reveal a most elaborately organized royal establishment in the palace of the Caesars with a multiplicity and variety of offices and functions. The "tasters" are a separate class of servants under their own chief. Even the pet dog has a functionary assigned to him. And not only Romans, but versatile Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, Samaritans, and Jews held positions of influence at the court. They had all the gifts for which the multifarious exigencies of Roman civilization would find full scope. Lightfoot made particular use of the archaeological excavations of de Rossi at Rome which he much admired, although he was no uncritical follower. Thus he notes[19] that de Rossi attaches too much weight to the opinion that Petronilla was a spiritual daughter of St Peter which is a mere invention of modern critics

having no basis in the original legend. On occasions he gives his own interpretation of the archaeological data provided by de Rossi. Thus the basilica of San Clemente between the Esquiline and Caelian hills lies on the site of an earlier basilica which was built over a place which in early times was consecrated to Christian worship. De Rossi believed that a chapel in this basilica originally belonged to the house of Clement and was therefore Christian property. Lightfoot however advanced the hypothesis that the house was that of Flavius Clemens and Domitilla and that the Christian congregation, in that part of the city, met under Clement the bishop in the house of Clement the consul, perhaps after his death, and that this is the explanation of the tradition that Flavius Clemens lies buried in this same basilica which is called after his namesake and is said to cover his bones.

Lightfoot used this new evidence, not simply for the dating of documents and events, but to illustrate the life and movement of the early Christian Church as it spread throughout the Graeco-Roman world. His concern was not simply with names—"the mere identity of names counts for little or nothing". Thus he can draw on his knowledge of other periods of history to illustrate his argument concerning the two Clements: "To a Bishop of Durham it occurs to quote Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres Appendix. p. xiv, '*Ego Willielmus Dei gratia Dunelmensis episcopus . . . in praesentia domini mei regis Willielmi*', William I of Durham being contemporary with William I of England. We may further note that the last William Bishop of Durham (1826-36) was contemporary with the last William King of England (1830-37)."[20]

It was the different types of character which crossed the stage of early Christian history which appealed to Lightfoot. In a striking passage he describes the household of the earliest of the Christian princes as containing strange diversities of character and notes the contrast between the ferocity and passion of the scenes accompanying the death of Domitian with the singular gentleness and forebearance of Clement's Epistle: "In no respect is the *epieikeia*, to which beyond anything else it owes its lofty moral elevation, more conspicuous than in the attitude of these Roman Christians towards their secular rulers, whom at this time they had little cause to love".[21] Lightfoot illustrates this by quoting the prayer for princes and governors in the liturgical ending of I Clement: "When we remember that this prayer issued from the fiery furnace

of persecution after the recent experience of a cruel and capricious tyrant like Domitian, it will appear truly sublime—sublime in its utterances, and still more sublime in its silence. Who would have grudged the Church of Rome her primacy, if she had always spoken thus?" [22]

And so the figures of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Hippolytus, and many others were portrayed as real men of flesh and blood who faced problems and overcame difficulties no less daunting than our own—men whose lives were no smooth progress from cradle to grave but who endured manfully the changes and chances of this fleeting world. So Lightfoot can conclude his great essay on Hippolytus: "I have thus attempted to trace the marvellous vicissitudes of this strange and eventful career—marvellous in life, and still marvellous after death. The appearance of this one personality in history and in legend are as manifold and varied as the transformation of his name; Hippolytus with the Greeks and Romans, Iflites with the Syrians and Chaldeans, Abulides with the Copts and Ethiopians, Polto with the Italians, Bilt with the French".[23]

Lightfoot's great achievement was to uphold, by the most exact standards of critical scholarship, the generally received picture of the origins and early development of the Christian Church. He established an approach which was at once reasonable, impartial, and free from the vice of partisanship, in which words were given their proper value and meaning. It has been said that Westcott, in his day, exercised a more widespread influence than either Lightfoot or Hort. This may well have been due to Westcott's interest in the relation of Christianity to social problems and in the missionary cause. But it is unlikely that his work will endure as will Lightfoot's and Hort's for he lacked the massive and comprehensive learning of the former and the philosophical grasp of the latter. Lightfoot bequeathed to the Church of England a method of approach to Biblical and Patristic problems which has yielded important results in the last seventy years. Its influence may be seen in the refusal of English theology to be over-impressed with the winds blowing from the Continent which would have scholars believe that the exact investigation of historical documents is only of minor value compared with the evaluation of theological meaning. Lightfoot would have had little sympathy with many of the results of "biblical theology", especially of the Continental variety, for these

would have appeared to him as so much "ingenuity wearing the mask of criticism".

Lightfoot's influence may be traced in a succession of great English biblical commentaries: Swete's *St. Mark and the Apocalypse*, Creed's *St. Luke*, Bernard's *St. John*, Vincent Taylor's *St. Mark*, and Selwyn's *I Peter* are but a few examples. It is, however, otherwise with the Apostolic Fathers. Lightfoot planned a complete edition of these writers but, owing to the pressure of other work, the plan never fully materialized. We should however be grateful for Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, his great monument, which Cuthbert Turner regarded as the supreme Patristic monographs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and which, in Harnack's opinion, placed Lightfoot beyond the reach of any rival. In spite of the years there have not as yet arisen English commentators who have applied themselves to the elucidation of the Greek texts of Barnabas and Hermas. When such begin their work they will need to take into account the advances in knowledge since Lightfoot's day—and in particular the influence of liturgy and catechesis on early Christian writings. But they cannot do better than take as their example the great Bishop of Durham who as a boy had taken to heart the words of his master Prince Lee, *Virtus in agendo constat*, and on whose monument was inscribed:

> ✠ IN MEMORIAM JOSEPHI BARBER LIGHTFOOT S.T.P. EPISCOPI DUNELMENSIS NATUS A.D. MDCCC XXVIII. OBIIT A.D. MDCCCL XXXIX. QUALIS FUERIT ANTIQUITATIS INVESTIGATOR EVANGELII INTERPRES ECCLESIAE RECTOR TESTANTUR OPERA UT AEQUALIBUS ITA POSTERIS PROFUTURA ✠ AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM. AM. PON. CVR. ✠

1 *Lightfoot of Durham*, C.U.P., 1932.

2 Cf. Baur's words: Ohne Philosophie bleibt mir die Geschichte ewig tod und stumm, quoted in L. E. Elliott-Binns, *English Thought, 1860-1900*, p. 90 n 2.

3 P. ix.

4 *Galatians*, p. 284

5 *Galatians*, p. 355.

6 *Ignatius*, Introd. pp. xi, xii.

7 *Ignatius*, Introd. p. xv.

[8] Vol. ii, pp. 501-2.
[9] 3 vols. 1885, 2nd edition 1889.
[10] *D.N.B.* Art. Lightfoot.
[11] H. E. Savage in *Lightfoot of Durham*, p. 110.
[12] Pp. 201-345.
[13] "Woe unto that man. It were good for him if he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of Mine elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about him, and he be cast into the sea, than that he should pervert one of Mine elect."
[14] *Clement*, Vol. i, pp. 357-8—italics mine.
[15] Op. cit., p. 93.
[16] Fisher, *F W. Maitland*, p. 174.
[17] *Clement*, Vol. i, pp. 57-9.
[18] Vol. 1., pp. 25-6.
[19] Op. cit., p. 38 n 1.
[20] *Clement*, Vol. 1, p. 54 n 3.
[21] Op. cit., p. 383.
[22] Op. cit., p. 384.
[23] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 477. Hippolytus, it is now believed, went into schism for conservative reasons and for many years claimed the see of Rome in opposition to Callistus and Pontianus. Lightfoot believed that he had episcopal charge of the various nationalities represented at Portus; op. cit., p. 434.

THE PAPACY AND THE DIOCESE OF ST DAVID'S, 1305-1417

WILLIAM GREENWAY

On 5 June 1305, at Pérouges, the college of cardinals finally ended a deadlock which had lasted for eleven months and elected as Pope, Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux. He took the name of Clement V. At Constance one hundred and twelve years later, on 11 November 1417, after a conclave of only three days duration, the election of Odo Colonna as Pope Martin V brought to an end the schism which had afflicted western Christendom for the previous four decades.

The period between 1305 and 1417 saw striking fluctuations in the fortunes of the Apostolic See. For over seventy of those years the papal court was almost continuously resident on the banks of the Rhône, in the city of Avignon. There, in an independent state free from the depredations of petty Italian tyrants, the popes had built up a centralized, bureaucratic administration which increased papal revenues and facilitated direct papal intervention in all branches of ecclesiastical government; a large proportion of these revenues was used to finance wars in Italy, where, largely through the efforts of the Spanish cardinal, Gil Albornoz, the authority of the Church had been re-established throughout the papal states by 1367. But the long-awaited return of the papacy to Rome ten years later was merely the prelude to disaster. The immediate causes and subsequent course of the Great Schism are too well known to bear repetition here, but two significant features of these crucial years may be noted. In the first place, the papacy, with its "spiritual" and "temporal" taxes drastically reduced, underwent a financial crisis greater even than that precipitated by the Protestant Reformation.[1] Secondly, the Papacy, partly as a result of its weakened financial position and partly because of the decline in its moral prestige, was forced to come to terms with the European princes in concordats which made substantial concessions to the secular power, thus recognizing in an official manner the gradual encroachment of the State on ecclesiastical affairs.

Despite the practical and psychological complications of the Hundred Years War, the relations of the papacy with England during this period remained on the whole fairly harmonious.

Clement V was, as a Gascon, the subject of Edward I, and his successors at Avignon were both zealous and sincere in their attempts to end the conflict between England and France.[2] Yet Englishmen had their grievances, particularly concerning papal taxation and provisions. Over the first of these issues a compromise was arrived at, with the king receiving a generous share of the tenths levied by the pope on the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, but the controversial problem of papal provisions remained to vitiate Anglo-papal relations throughout the century. The system of provisions was, as is now recognized, another aspect of the centralization of Church government under the papacy—centralization as applied to ecclesiastical appointments—and as such was a characteristic of the Church in one of the most vital stages in its development.[3] But hitherto, what has attracted the attention of historians is the political implication of provisions—the parliamentary outbursts against provisors, the significance of the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire, the concordats of 1377 and 1399—and only in the case of Hereford has there been a detailed examination of the practical effects of papal patronage on the clergy of a particular diocese.[4] A similar examination of the neighbouring bishopric of St David's, a diocese twice as large as Hereford in extent but roughly equal in status, will be useful not only for the purposes of comparison but also as an indication of papal policy in a region where differences of race and language added to the normal problems of diocesan government.

The scope of this survey will be limited to a study of the bishops and clergy of the cathedral and collegiate chapters. Both the careers of the bishops and the circumstances of their appointment will be examined in order to determine the part played by the pope in their promotion to the episcopal bench. Papal influence on the chapters of St David's cathedral and the collegiate churches at Abergwili and Llanddewibrefi will be assessed in two ways. First, the number of letters of provision to canonries and, as far as possible, their effectiveness will be calculated; secondly, the presence of aliens and clerks of the papal curia or college of cardinals will be noted, since these may have owed their appointments to papal patronage, though not necessarily by means of provisions. In conclusion, there will be some discussion of the number and pattern of petitions for benefices in the chapters concerned.

The historian of the diocese of St David's is handicapped by the absence of adequate chapter records and of episcopal registers before 1397,[5] and this has some important bearings on the subject under review. It has inevitably to be viewed from the outside, through the eyes of curial officials at Avignon and Rome, and any assessment of the practical consequences of papal policy within the diocese must be based largely on conjecture. It is impossible, for instance, to estimate accurately either the total number of capitular clergy or the exact proportion affected by papal patronage. Neither can it be ascertained with any degree of certainty whether papal provisors did in fact obtain effective possession of prebends in the cathedral and collegiate chapters. Conclusions which depend on statistical evidence must be qualified by considerations such as these.

During the pontificates of Clement V and John XXII, provision direct from the Holy See gradually superseded the system of election by cathedral chapters as a method of appointing bishops.[6] In England, the changeover was complete by the middle of the century, the last bishop not provided to his see being John Trillek of Hereford, in 1344.[7] Appointments by provision, as by capitular election, needed royal approval, and the provisor was required to take an oath to the king in which certain words of the bull of provision were renounced. In practice, it became customary for the pope to provide royal nominees or clerics to whom the king had no objection.

The first vacancy to occur at St David's in the fourteenth century was occasioned by the death of David Martin in 1328. In his place the canons elected Henry de Gower, a former Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Fellow of Merton College and, as archdeacon of St David's, already a member of the cathedral chapter.[8] The king gave his assent to the election and wrote on Gower's behalf to John XXII, requesting papal confirmation of the appointment. A second letter, in August, explained that the bishop-elect had been refused permission to visit Avignon because of the disturbances of war, during which no magnate was allowed to leave the kingdom.[9] Meanwhile, Gower had been consecrated at Canterbury on 12 June, but final confirmation was not received until December, when the pope intimated that, in spite of an alleged

reservation of the bishopric, the election should hold good, since no reservation had been made before it took place.[10]

The appointment of Gower appears to have been the result of an election in which no pressure was brought to bear on the canons by any extra-capitular influence—a singularly rare phenomenon in the fourteenth century. The pope did not intervene in the proceedings and it is unlikely that Edward III would at that stage have been capable of pressing Gower's candidature. In 1328 he was a youth of sixteen and king in name only, with the reins of government in the hands of his mother Isabella and her paramour, Roger Mortimer. Neither would this ill-fated pair have been especially anxious to procure the promotion of Gower, for he was never one of their supporters. The canons of St David's, in choosing Gower as bishop, were probably taking into account three factors—his academic reputation, his position as senior archdeacon in the diocese, and his local origin.[11] As a Welshman with many English contacts, he may have been thought well-fitted to reconcile the two racial elements within his bishopric.

Of the ten bishops of St David's between 1305 and 1417, Henry de Gower was the only one appointed by canonical election; the remaining nine were all papal provisors. Seven of these provisions were straightforward affairs,[12] though Adam Houghton had already been elected by the cathedral chapter. The bull of provision noted the election and declared it null and void, but the pope decided that Houghton should be appointed as he was eminently suitable for the office and in order to avoid a protracted vacancy.[13] The provisions of John Thoresby and John Gilbert, on the other hand, were made after other candidates had already been chosen by the chapter of St David's.

In 1347, the canons elected as successor to Henry de Gower one of their number, William Carew. A relatively obscure cleric who appears to have been unknown outside the diocese, Carew perhaps benefited from the magnanimity of Edward III, at the height of his prestige and popularity after the successes of his campaign in Normandy and the victory over the Scots at Neville's Cross, and the election was confirmed by the king on 30 June.[14] But almost a month before the royal confirmation, Clement VI had provided John Thoresby to the bishopric, presumably without consulting the king. Edward did not hesitate to reverse his decision and on 4 July, only five days after giving his assent to the election of Carew, he

ordered the temporalities of the see to be restored to Thoresby.[15] It was pointed out that this was done as an "act of grace" and not in virtue of the bull of provision, all prejudicial words of which the bishop-elect had renounced.

The king can hardly have resented Clement's over-riding of the decision of the chapter, for Thoresby, keeper of the privy seal and a trusted and experienced royal official, was clearly destined for high ecclesiastical office.[16] Edward may in fact have been waiting until a wealthier see became vacant before pressing the claims of his minister. Thoresby himself was a not unknown figure at the papal court. In 1327 and 1330 he had been engaged in an attempt to procure the canonization of Thomas of Lancaster[17] and ten years later, when Benedict XII was urging Edward to conclude a truce with the French king, he was sent to Avignon with instructions to emphasize to the pope the justice of the English cause.[18] The ensuing deadlock did not preclude further attempts at mediation by the papacy, and in 1345 Clement VI asked Thoresby to assist the cardinals in their attempts to arrange another truce.[19] In spite of his pro-French leanings, Clement worked consistently for the suspension of hostilities between England and France[20] and the provision of Thoresby to St David's may have been a reward for labours in the cause of peace. Some years later, when he was archbishop of York, Thoresby was still doing his utmost to foster peace between the rival monarchs.[21] On the other hand, provisions developed at an unprecedented rate during Clement's pontificate, and the appointment of a bishop acceptable to the king may simply have been a tactful way of furthering the centralization of the government of the Church.

The provision of John Gilbert, however, can be related directly to the vicissitudes of Anglo-papal relations and to the turbulent political situation in England during the reign of Richard II. Gilbert, a Dominican friar, had been provided to the see of Bangor in 1372 and was translated to Hereford after three years.[22] Like Thoresby, he had some personal contact with the papal curia and its officials, having headed two delegations to treat with papal ambassadors at Avignon in 1373 and Bruges in 1374. He was anxious to iron out the differences between Crown and papacy and remained at Bruges after his leading subordinate, John Wycliffe, had left the negotiations in despair.[23] Gilbert was probably one of the more moderate of the English envoys and Gregory XI urged

him to continue his good work on behalf of the Church in England.[24] The Dominican remained on amicable terms with Gregory's successor, Urban VI, and became a papal chaplain during the latter's pontificate.[25]

Adam Houghton died early in 1389 and the canons of St David's elected *favore domini regis* Richard Medford, Richard II's secretary. The election was quashed by Urban VI, who translated Gilbert from Hereford to St David's and filled the ensuing vacancy at Hereford by providing another papal chaplain, John Trefnant.[26] The significance of this action can be appreciated only by reference to the general context of relations between England and Rome.[27] Between the years 1388 and 1393, there were renewed complaints against provisions, while the pope, for his part, showed more intransigence about appointments to bishoprics. The Parliament at Cambridge in 1388 had confirmed the statute of Provisors and supplemented this with a prohibition on any further shipment of gold and silver out of the country, thus striking at the payment of a clerical subsidy demanded by the pope. Urban retaliated vigorously with a number of measures. He ordered the clergy to have the subsidy ready by the end of October 1389, reserved all vacant benefices to the Holy See, and made several episcopal appointments which were unpopular with the king, including the translation of Gilbert to St David's and the provision of Trefnant to Hereford. Llandaff, too, saw changes directed at Richard; the bishop, William Bottlesham, was translated to the vacant see of Rochester, in disregard of both the royal nominee and the elect of the monastic chapter, while his place at Llandaff was taken by another papal provisor, Edmund Brownfield, who had earlier in the reign been imprisoned for supporting the pope against Richard.

In many ways Urban's translation of Gilbert to St David's was a most adroit move, taking advantage of the rift between king and magnates. Not only did he thus register a protest against the anti-papal legislation, but he also obviated any objections from the lords Appellant, for Gilbert, though a moderate, was one of their adherents.[28] The king himself was in no position to thwart Urban's designs. After the "Merciless" Parliament had placed effective control of the government in the hands of the appellants, Richard spent the Christmas of 1388 consoling himself with hunting and other entertainments.[29] By February, he had plucked up sufficient courage to attempt to get his secretary elected at St David's but

was still not secure enough to counter the papal reaction. In the following May he reasserted his authority, ended the uninspiring rule of the appellants and once more took over direction of governmental affairs. Gilbert was replaced as treasurer of the exchequer by Thomas Brantingham, a royal favourite, and another measure of the restored power of the Crown was that towards the end of the year Richard was able to have Medford provided to the bishopric of Chichester.[30]

After the election of Henry de Gower in 1328 all the bishops of St David's were papal provisors, and a study of their careers confirms that by the second half of the fourteenth century the pope would, for the most part, appoint as bishops only churchmen who were acceptable to the king. In this respect papal provisions were becoming not a vindication of the *plenitudo potestatis* but a practice which strengthened royal control of the Church. The popes were in no position to take a firm stand against the encroachments of the secular power, especially after the moral and financial setbacks of the Great Schism, and, in the fifteenth century, papal provision to English sees was to be no more than a formality.[31]

At St David's, most of the provisors with whom we are concerned had in some way been connected with the court and the royal administration. Reginald Brian, Adam Houghton, Henry Chichele, and John Catterick were royal clerks—all, with the exception of Brian, employed as diplomatic envoys;[32] both Houghton and Chichele were subsequently to hold high ministerial office. Guy Mone was a courtier bishop of Richard II's creation and became keeper of the privy seal a year before his promotion to St David's;[33] though a loyal supporter of Richard, he survived the revolution of 1399 and held the post of treasurer under Henry IV.[34] Stephen Patrington, the brilliant Oxford Carmelite, would have been a worthy bishop in any age, but his position as confessor to Henry V was perhaps of greater weight in the scales of ecclesiastical politics than any qualities of character and intellect.[35] We may be fairly confident that in all these cases provision was made in deference to the known wishes of the king.

Two apparent exceptions to this generalization were John Thoresby and John Gilbert, both provided after the king had already accepted the choices of the cathedral chapter. Was this the result of greater independence on the part of the popes? It seems

unlikely, for it is noticeable that both the provisors were clerics well-known and respected in courtly and administrative circles. Thoresby, keeper of the privy seal at the time of his appointment, had been keeper of the chancery rolls and was a close confidant of Edward III, whom he accompanied on the Normandy campaign of 1346. He came from a group of interconnected families prominent in the royal administration,[36] and his subsequent translation to Worcester, then to York, is evidence of the regard in which he was held by the king. John Gilbert, royal ambassador and treasurer of the exchequer, was another veteran in the service of the Crown. He was, it is true, also a papal chaplain and his translation from Hereford was designed to upset the plans of Richard II, but Urban VI was careful to ensure that Gilbert was acceptable to the appellants. At that particular moment in February 1389, the sympathies of the faction wielding effective political power were equally as important to the pope as the views of the king himself.

Only in the case of Thomas Fastolf does the pope appear to have acted on his own initiative and used the system of provisions to advance a cleric who had made his name in activities at the papal court. Fastolf was English by birth, his family being of some standing in East Anglia,[37] but most of his career was spent abroad. In 1326 he was in the employment of the cardinal of St Theodore's.[38] Two years later, he had leave from the Bishop of Norwich to study for seven years and was given letters dimissory for ordination in Italy, where he was still studying in 1339.[39] In 1340, having proceeded to a doctorate of canon law, he was a papal chaplain and auditor, and also chaplain to the cardinal of St Prisca's.[40] His years of study bore fruit and he developed into a canonist of some distinction, holding the responsible position of auditor of causes and compiling "the earliest known collection of decisions of the Roman court of the Rota".[41] He may also have been the canonist at Avignon who, in 1344, wrote the *Memoriale Presbiterorum*, a treatise instructing parish priests in the technique of hearing confessions.[42] Whether or not this identification is correct, it has been said of Fastolf that he was the only English bishop who "contributed anything original to the study of canon or civil law in the fourteenth century", in spite of the preponderance of lawyers in the hierarchy.[43]

Fastolf was one of a small number of papal officials appointed to English sees in the course of the century, and his reputation was

established in the centralized bureaucracy of the papal administration at Avignon. Yet he was not entirely unknown to Edward III. An Englishman in daily contact with the officials of the papal curia was a convenient person to employ in diplomatic negotiations, and in 1344, the king commissioned Fastolf, along with the Bishop of Norwich and others, to treat with French ambassadors before the pope;[44] this was in connection with the Anglo-French truce, drawn up by Clement VI, which was to last for three years from Michaelmas 1343. Fastolf was clearly thought of as a reliable representative who would have English interests at heart, and this may well have influenced both the action of Innocent VI in providing him to St David's and Edward III's ready acceptance of the appointment.

As the popes of the fourteenth century found their independent use of provisions increasingly curtailed, they availed themselves of the expedient of translating bishops from one diocese to another; the additional vacancy thus created could be filled by a further papal appointment. In the first half of the century, only nine of seventy episcopal appointments in England and Wales were made by translation, but between 1351 and 1400 the proportion rose to thirty-one out of eighty-six.[45] The increase was reflected at St David's, where no bishop had been translated either to or from the see before 1349. In that year, however, Thoresby was translated to Worcester, to be followed by Reginald Brian three years later, and, in 1389, Gilbert was translated from Hereford to St David's. Others translated from the Welsh bishopric were Henry Chichele to Canterbury in 1414, John Catterick to Lichfield in 1415 and Stephen Patrington to Chichester in 1417. Five of the fifteen bishops between 1400 and 1530 were translated to other dioceses, though St David's was the diocese most affected by translations to English bishoprics in the fifteenth century.[46] The effect of this was rather dubious, for there was inevitably a tendency to regard St David's as being a temporary post until a more lucrative see became vacant. Gregory XII stated as much when Henry Chichele was provided in 1407, for the new bishop had to be supplied with extra benefices to supplement his income "until he be more richly provided for"—the implication being that a move to a wealthier diocese was only a matter of time and opportunity.[47] It is noticeable, too, that whereas eleven bishops occupied the see of St David's between 1115 and 1347, there were precisely twice that number between 1347 and

1536. This must have in some measure been due to the number of translations from the diocese.

At one point, it seemed as if the Great Schism would have considerable effects on the diocese of St David's. The provinces of Canterbury and York recognized the Roman line of popes as represented by Urban VI and his successors, and the Welsh bishops followed the lead given by their king and metropolitan. Then a complicating factor was introduced by the rebellion of Owain Glyn Dwr.[48] Initially the rebellion was no more than an act of private vengeance, but by 1404, the year of Glyn Dwr's first "parliament" at Machynlleth, it had assumed the proportions of a national revolt. As the movement for independence spread, the Welsh rebel leader evolved a well-defined political and diplomatic programme, the cornerstone of which was an alliance with France.

The alliance was of obvious military and strategic value to the Welsh cause, but it involved a radical change in ecclesiastical loyalties. In deference to the sympathies of his new ally, Glyn Dwr renounced his allegiance to Boniface IX and transferred his support to Benedict XIII, perhaps the ablest of all the popes of the Schism. St David's loomed large in Owain's plan for the Church in Wales, and in March 1406 he forwarded to Avignon a memorandum which revived an age-old controversy over the status of the bishopric of St David's and demanded certain concessions in return for the recognition of Benedict.[49] He advocated the establishment of a separate ecclesiastical province, consisting of the four Welsh dioceses and the bishoprics of Coventry and Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Worcester, Hereford, and Exeter, under the metropolitan headship of St David's and owing no obedience to Canterbury; two universities were to be set up in Wales, all appropriations of Welsh parish churches to English monasteries were to be annulled, and in future only Welsh clerics were to be provided by the pope to Welsh benefices; finally, the rebellion was to be declared a crusade, with a plenary indulgence for all those in arms under Glyn Dwr.

To complement this elaborate scheme, an attempt was made to create an all-Welsh episcopate in Wales.[50] Two Welshmen, John Trevor and Lewis Byford, were already in possession of the northern dioceses, though Byford was soon supplanted by Glyn Dwr's chief adviser, Gruffydd Young. Young was hoping to be transferred to St David's, and the bishopric of Llandaff may have been reserved for the chronicler, Adam of Usk. If Adam was indeed

an adherent of Benedict XIII, his sympathies had undergone a marked change, for he had been a chaplain and auditor at the court of Boniface IX.[51] He may have been induced to throw in his lot with the insurgents after disappointments suffered in 1404, when projects to provide him first to Hereford, then to St David's, were thwarted by the opposition of Henry IV.[52] St David's was not vacant in that year, but Innocent VII had proposed to translate Guy Mone to London in place of the deceased Braybrooke.

But without military victory, the schemes for ecclesiastical independence and an all-Welsh hierarchy in Wales were no more than tantalizing dreams. With the political failure of the rebellion, the Welsh dioceses reverted to their traditional allegiance. St David's remained subject to Canterbury, and when Guy Mone died in 1407 he was replaced not by a sympathizer with national aspirations but by the energetic Henry Chichele, a "king's man", who was given an immediate commission to reconcile the schismatics in his diocese.[53] In the reaction which followed the Glyn Dwr rebellion, no Welshman was appointed to St David's, and it was not until the accession of Henry Tudor that the see associated with the patron of Wales once more acquired as its pastor a native of that country.[54]

(To be concluded)

1 For a popular statement, see Peter Partner, "Papal Finance and the Papal State", *History Today*, vol. VII, no. 11, November 1957, p. 772.

2 M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 122-5.

3 W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the XIV Century* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 2.

4 J. T. Driver, "The Papacy and the Diocese of Hereford, 1307-77", *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. CXLV, 1947, pp. 31-47.

5 *The Episcopal Registers of St. David's, 1397-1518*, ed. R. F. Isaacson (3 vols. Cymmrodorion Record Series, 1922). Brit. Museum Harl. MS. 6280 is a collection of episcopal statutes, grants etc., of St David's, from the 12th to the 15th century, but is of little value for personnel.

6 G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon* (9th ed., Paris, 1949), pp. 32, 45-6.

7 W. A. Pantin, op. cit., p. 55.

8 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1327-30*, pp. 253, 259, 273. See also *D.N.B.* and A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (3 vols. Oxford, 1957-9); II, p. 797.

9 T. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. II, part 2, pp. 747, 748-9.

10 *Register of John de Grandisson*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (3 vols. London and Exeter, 1894-9), I, p. 343; *Cal. Papal Letters, 1305-42*, p. 284.

[11] Gower was described in the letter to John XXII as being of noble birth but we know nothing of his family. As his name indicates, he came from the Gower peninsula, perhaps from the neighbourhood of Swansea, where he later built an episcopal residence and founded a hospital. See Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 6280, fol. 20.

[12] Reginald Brian, *Cal. Papal Letters, 1342-62*, pp. 311, 334, 351. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50*, pp. 445-6; Thomas Fastolf, *Cal. Papal Letters, 1342-62*, pp. 462, 515, 610. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-4*, p. 462; Adam Houghton, *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1361-4*, p. 122; Guy Mone, *Cal. Papal Letters, 1396-1404*, pp. 22, 72. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-9*, p. 186. *Reg. St. David's*, I, 3; Henry Chichele, *Cal. Papal Letters, 1404-15*, p. 112. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1405-8*, pp. 426, 436; John Catterick, *Cal. Papal Letters, 1404-15*. pp. 443, 454. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1413-16*, p. 198; Stephen Patrington, *Cal. Papal Letters, 1404-15*, p. 350. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1413-16*, p. 336.

[13] I. J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* (2 vols. London, 1933), I, p. 258.

[14] *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1354-8*, p. 344. A. William Carew held a canonry at Abergwili in 1334 (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 6280, fol. 91v). Carew may have come from west Wales.

[15] *Cal. Papal Letters, 1342-62*, p. 240. *Cal. Pat Rolls, 1345-8*, p. 361.

[16] See B. Wilkinson, *The Chancery under Edward III* (Manchester, 1929), pp. 118-20; *D.N.B.* A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register, III*, pp. 1863-4.

[17] Rymer, *Foedera*, II, pt. 2, pp. 695, 782. For the canonization attempt see E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948), p. 123.

[18] *Cal. Papal Letters, 1305-42*, pp. 583-9.

[19] Rymer, *Foedera*, III, pt. I, p. 64.

[20] G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, p. 85.

[21] *Cal. Papal Letters, 1342-62*, p. 610. This was in May 1353.

[22] See A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register, II*, pp. 765-6.

[23] W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the XIV Century*, pp. 88-9; K. B. Mcfarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (London, 1953), pp. 55-7, 62-3; H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif* (2 vols. London, 1926), I, pp. 242, 245-6.

[24] *Cal. Papal Letters, 1362-1404*, p. 135.

[25] Ibid., p. 479; *Cal. Close Rolls, 1385-9*, p. 551.

[26] *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumley (Rolls Series, 1865-86), IX, 205; *Registrum Johannis Trefnant, 1389-1404*, ed. W. W. Capes (Cant. and York. Soc., 1916), pp. 1-4.

[27] E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le Grand Schisme d'Occident* (Paris, 1933), pp. 306-8; J. H. Dahmus, "Richard II and the Church", *Catholic Historical Review*, 1953-4, p. 420.

[28] A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 176.

[29] T. F. T. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, (6 vols. Manchester, 1920-33), III, pp. 452-3.

[30] A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), p. 14.

[31] R. J. Knecht, "The Episcopate and the Wars of the Roses", *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Journal*, vol. VI, no. 2, 1958, p. 109.

[32] A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register, I*, pp. 290-1, 371-2, 410-12. *II*, pp. 972-3.

[33] A. Steel, *Richard II*, pp. 219, 253; T. F. Tout, *Chapters*, IV, 8, VI, 53.

[34] *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1401-5*, pp. 163, 222.

[35] See A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register, III*, pp. 1435-6.

36 W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the XIV Century*, p. 211.

37 F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of Norfolk* (11 vols. London, 1805-10), XI, pp. 205-6.

38 *Cal. Papal Letters, 1305-42*, p. 251.

39 J. R. L. Highfield, "The English Hierarchy under Edward III", *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5th series, vol. VI, 1956, p. 130.

40 *Cal. Papal Letters, 1305-42*, p. 547.

41 W. A. Pantin, op. cit., p. 21; J. R. L. Highfield, art. cit., p. 121.

42 W. A. Pantin, op. cit., pp. 205-6.

43 J. R. L. Highfield, art. cit., p. 128.

44 E. Déprez: "La Conference d'Avignon (1344)", in *Essays . . . presented to T. F. Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 301-20; for the text of the commission, see F. Blomfield, op. cit., III, p. 507.

45 A Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy*, p. 13.

46 R. J. Knecht, *Univ. of Birmingham Hist. Journal*, vol. VI, no. 2, 1958, p. 109.

47 *Cal. Papal Letters, 1404-15*, p. 112.

48 See the chapter on Glyn Dwr and the Church in J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931). I am indebted to Professor Glanmor Williams for allowing me to see the typescript of his forthcoming study of the Welsh Church in the later Middle Ages, particularly his chapters on Glyn Dwr.

49 T. Matthews, *Welsh Records in Paris* (Carmarthen, 1910), pp. 52-4.

50 J. R. Gabriel, "Wales and the Avignon Papacy", *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1923, pp. 80-2.

51 See W. Llewellyn Williams, "Adam of Usk", *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. XXXI, 1921, pp. 135-60.

52 *Chronicon Adae Usk*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (London, 1904), pp. 256, 264.

53 *Cal. Papal Letters, 1404-15*, pp. 132-3.

54 John Morgan became bishop of St David's in 1496.

CHRISTIANITY AND HISTORY

E. KENNETH LEE

CONTEMPORARY theologians are searching for a method of reason about history which will do justice to the claims of Christianity to be both an historical religion and to be able to meet the religious needs of men and women in the mid-twentieth century. There are systems of theological thought which, for example, while not denying the resurrection of Jesus, would lift the event out of the historical process into a supernatural realm which cannot be touched by historical criticism. This makes nonsense of the claim of Christianity to be an historical religion according to which God reveals himself in history so that men and women living under the conditions of time and space might understand something of God's nature and the meaning of life itself. In this article we shall confine ourselves to an examination of the theology of Rudolf Bultmann as being a typical representative of those who depreciate the importance of the historical in Christianity.

It is possible to distinguish three levels of thought on which Bultmann moves, each of which supplies a part of the total rationale of his theology.

1. On the most general level, Bultmann argues that the task of theology is the utterance of a genuinely existential understanding of man's lot in the twentieth century. Mere facts or naked ideas have little to do with the preaching of the Gospel. The goal of real preaching—of which theology is the servant—is the re-creation of the *kerygma*. As in the New Testament, so in the modern Church, the *kerygma* is never simply the iteration of a tradition, but is itself an event through which God speaks and proffers salvation.[1] On this level, then, the student of the New Testament confirms the insight of the dogmatic theologian that the task of modern theology must be to express the subjectivity of the believer as well as the objectivity of that which is believed.[2]

2. Bultmann's originality is to be found in his development of a second dominant theme. If theology is to be existential, he says, then it must be implemented by an existentialist philosophy. He finds the philosophy he needs in a simplified version of Martin Heidegger's phenomenology of *Dasein*.[3] Bultmann's high opinion of Heidegger's thought may be judged from his verdict that it is "only

a profane philosophical presentation of the New Testament view of human existence".[4] For example, the "man after the flesh" in Paul finds his counterpart in the "inauthentic existence" of Heidegger; the man after the spirit corresponds to "authentic existence". And the conversion from one state to another in both cases is the result of an existential decision which may be regarded as an act of faith. The use of this existentialist analysis of being constitutes a distinct second theme in Bultmann's thought because Heidegger's prohibition of all objective language far exceeds the usual emphasis on subjectivity which one associates with Kierkegaard. Bultmann, for example, excludes any theological significance from propositions which refer to more than the immediate content of self-consciousness. This means that the intelligibility of the New Testament depends on the insight that its revelation of God, man, and the world, gives to the unfolding of a new self-understanding.[5] Thus, all knowledge of God is reduced to a purely formal concept through the restriction of meaning to statements derived from a phenomenological analysis of the inner self.

3. The third important strain is Bultmann's desire to reach some agreement between biblical theology and the idea of history implied by modern science and historiography.[6] A man who uses the radio and television, Bultmann believes, cannot understand the meaning of the New Testament teaching unless he is aware of the difference between existential meaning and the mythic handling of facts. For the most part, Bultmann treats myth as the typical expression of that naïve mentality that projects internally apprehended meanings upon the screen of nature and history, quite heedless of the difference between objective and subjective truth. Existentialist analysis is especially well-fitted to interpret this kind of myth; it can distinguish between the accidental and objectivist language of ordinary men from the essential existentialist truth and translate the latter into more precise terms of its own categories. In fact many critics have pointed out that Bultmann is actually re-mythologizing the scriptures, discarding the apocalyptic images of the primitive community in favour of the psychological concepts of existentialism. Theologians and preachers of the Gospel have been seeking to interpret the Christian message in the terms of contemporary culture in every generation. And there are some to-day who find in Bultmann the answer to the difficulties of communicating the Gospel to modern man.

But not infrequently Bultmann writes as though the defining characteristic of myth is not merely a form of expression or interpretation, but as though it lies in its *contradiction* to the findings of modern science. Obviously there are many portions of the New Testament which do conflict with natural science. For example, there is the belief that the universe consists of three levels —heaven, earth, and hell, and the idea of the coming of the Son of Man upon the clouds of heaven. Bultmann would also say that such beliefs as the New Birth being accomplished through the sacrament of baptism or that an unworthy reception of the Holy Communion would have an ill-effect on a man's health, are contrary to the outlook of modern man. It is his handling of these elements in the *kerygma* that justifies Bultmann's claim to "demythologize" the primitive mind. Considerable ambiguity is introduced into his various essays because these two conceptions are used interchangeably although in reality the differences are very great since the general definition is scientific while the specific concept is ideological.

When these lines of thought are set side by side it becomes evident that Bultmann is primarily interested in the human conditions of faith and revelation. Bultmann has none of the modern fear of speaking about a natural human capacity to hear the word of God. The initial problem he sets himself is to show how revelation is possible to a man, who, outside of faith, is a derelict drifting helplessly in the everyday world of things. The self that Bultmann sketches here is basically the anonymous creature of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (1949), a self blindly subject to affections and moods, the causes of which it cannot specify, and continually threatened by the power of non-being. This creature's despair is due to his refusal to accept the knowledge of his limitations and to his efforts to acquire mastery over his destiny by treating the world as a collection of objects and instruments. The "derelict" tries to smother his dread of real decision and to reduce the future to a certainty, now by seeking refuge in a naturalistic *Weltanschaung*, now by pretending that the Bible contains the literal words of God the Creator.[7] Yet in the midst of such loneliness and despair, there is a possibility of revelation, furnished by the repressed but ineradicable knowledge of finitude. For the creature's inevitable awareness of his own transitoriness must, in Bultmann's opinion, contain a real, if crude and negative, knowledge of God.[8]

From these general observations Bultmann is prepared to deduce a few specific criteria of authentic revelation. First of all, he reasons, neither nature nor history is capable of supplying the positive, revelatory complement of the self's innate knowledge of God, not merely because of the perverse attitude of the fallen creature towards his world, but because nature and history are inherently barren. Bultmann sees nature primarily as a net-work of causal relationships, necessary to man's domestic life but a snare to his spirit. History as an economy in the patristic sense is a fiction, for it is intrinsically ambiguous. Together, nature-history form a single profane territory of objective knowledge and experience (*Historie*), the quarter from which divine revelation cannot come. But if the Word of salvation must come from the other side of all human life and experience, how will it be recognized? To answer this question, Bultmann appeals to the religious *a priori*, the self in its religious make-up, to point out that a genuine Word from Beyond must induce in the creature living in unconscious despair in *Historie* a feeling of being questioned. To the accompaniment of this dawning realization of the fundamental contingency of existence, and hence of the essential homelessness of the self in the ordinary world of time and space, the eyes of the self are opened to a new dimension of inwardness. Existence on this inward plane is not a continuous progression of life, but rather a series of periodic concentrations of becoming in which the self is confronted with the decision only the individual can make, a decision either for or against God. Thus the criterion of the true Word of God is the vision it must bring of an authentic eschatological existence (*Geschichte*) in which all historical, social, and natural facts (*Historie*) disappear in the intensity of the moment of pure insight and affirmation.

Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God, as Bultmann has reconstructed it in his *Jesus and the Word* (1934) and his *Theology of the New Testament* (1951-5) fulfils the conditions of this formal concept of revelation. First, the message of the Kingdom is a call to absolute obedience to God, that is, to the decision that takes no cognizance of historical probabilities, natural causalities, or social tradition. In the second place, the evangelist is only the "bearer of the Word". He himself lays no claim to a special title, and his own historical individuality is neither a proof nor a parable of the command he bears.[9] Every man, says Bultmann, must make his

own decision in the crisis created for him by the in-breaking of the Word of God. The faith visible in the life of another, even in the neighbour who bears suffering bravely, can never be a basis for belief. He denies that the Word of God works through the personality of Jesus which lies behind the biblical picture of the Messiah. Faith is oriented not on the picture of Jesus, but on the instantly proclaimed Word; it arises not in the memory of the past, but in the eschatological moment without past or future.[10] A genuinely eschatological (first century) or existential (twentieth century) faith never looks back, for the past is the prison from which the Word sets men free. Therefore a genuine encounter with revelation yields neither a knowledge of Jesus' personality nor insight into the truth of his teachings; both of these belong to *Historie*. But it evokes in us the recognition of the sole sufficiency of God.[11]

According to Bultmann, the real purpose of historical investigation is to discover new dimensions, not in the past, but in the historian himself. The results of this limitation of the scope of historical knowledge are drastic when the idea is applied to the historical Jesus. Under this treatment, the historical Jesus emerges as the Socratic teacher whose essential rôle is that of mid-wife to our recognition of internal reality. While he is using this method, Bultmann always approaches New Testament theology as though it were nothing more than the first permanent expression of the distinctively Christian consciousness, and leaves on one side the external history of that consciousness. This tendency is greatly enforced by his customary distinction between *Geschichte* and *Historie;* the former referring to the history of the Kingdom of ends and the latter to the history of the kingdom of means. It is only as citizens of the former realm that people are genuinely free. The final consequence of this teaching is to deprive Christian consciousness of all distinctive ingredients and to leave theology with nothing to discuss except the human need for self-understanding in general. "He strips the Christian proclamation of its time-setting in redemptive history."[12]

The significance of this divorce between theologically important history and ordinary history becomes apparent when we examine Bultmann's attitude towards the crucifixion and the resurrection. The historical cross is scarcely mentioned in *Jesus and the Word,* and consequently the resurrection is simply omitted. When he considers the meaning of the crucifixion in his essay on New

Testament mythology, it is to argue that as a mere fact it had no place in the primitive mind. He affirms that "it cannot be denied that simply as a past fact the cross cannot be an event in our own lives. It is only through the preaching of the Word that the cross can become a personal encounter, and so an ever-present reality." He denies, however, that this assertion is intended to imply the disappearance of any objectivity in the cross.[13] Nevertheless, he argues that the early community was pre-occupied with a mythically drawn cross, a cross that bore a pre-existent Son of God who stripped the demons of their power. The flowering of these mythological pictures in the place of the executed Jesus proves, according to Bultmann, that the community's faith was rooted in an eschatological consciousness and not in the memory of past events involving our Lord. The significance of the cross is expressed "in the fact that the New Testament presents it as an eschatological event; that is to say it is not a past event, to which we look back; but it is an eschatological event in time and beyond time, in so far as it is understood in its significance and that it does not cease to be present for faith."[14] This reasoning appears to be an example of *non sequitur*, for it depends on an *a priori* agreement to Bultmann's equation of the first-century eschatological consciousness with existentialist introspection for which the objective past is wholly unimportant. The cross acquires significance as a saving event only in the heart of one who hears the *kerygma* and accepts it, just as a passage in a book comes alive in the mind of the reader. "Thus the saving event is only realised at the moment when the hearer receives the cross of Christ as his own."[15]

We are not to assume from this, however, that the objective element in the cross of Christ is entirely eliminated. Nevertheless, Bultmann does sharply separate the objective and the subjective significance of the cross. The Christ of the historian is, according to Bultmann, foreign to Christ, the Saviour known to faith. The leap which Bultmann requires the reader to make from objective, external, history to internal, existential history is a product of his complete separation of what Kant called the faculties of theoretical and practical reason. But whereas Kant merely distinguished these faculties of pure reason, Bultmann refuses to allow the two to even co-operate in the pursuit of the same goals, and has isolated each in a distinct phase of the life of faith. Only an eschatological crisis suffices to convert the self from dependence on theoretical reason

(the reason dealing with *Historie*) to an affirmation of the postulates of practical reason—God and the freedom of the will.

These same principles operate when Bultmann interprets the resurrection of Christ. As the truth of the crucifixion lies not in its factual but in its existential dimensions, so the truth of the resurrection faith of the early Church must be found not in its historical character but in its quality as a "wonder". A "wonder" is for Bultmann the belief in anything against the appearances. In so far as we are allowed to speak of an Easter-event lying behind the early resurrection tradition, we must confine ourselves to the subjective rather than the objective miracle, the "wonder" of the rise of faith in the Apostolic mind. Karl Barth has pointed out that this identification of the appearances of the Christ of faith with the act of belief has left the existentialists in the position of teaching a new doctrine of the "Sacrifice of the Mass": as often as the *kerygma* is preached and heeded, the salvation event itself is repeated.[16] By "salvation event", however, Bultmann means simply the subjective experience of crisis in which faith springs up. This means, for example, that anything like a resurrection on the plane of history is by definition impossible. Because of this, Brunner thinks that Bultmann's eschatology denies the resurrection of Christ or even that Christ is alive.[17]

The resurrection, according to Bultmann, is an absolutely mythical event. It is quite impossible, he says, to accept "the return of a dead man into the life of the present world" as an historical event.[18] The resurrection texts are to be read therefore as adding only another detail to the mythic treatment of the cross of Jesus. The resurrection tradition expresses only a dimension of the meaning of the cross, as it stands as an index of the original depth of an eschatological faith. The resurrection was introduced into the *kerygma* in order to give assurance of victory over death, a victory which had already been achieved in the death of Christ. In this way, says Bultmann, the meaning of the resurrection can be made acceptable to modern man. The early community, he is forced to conjecture, disclosed the intensity of its future expectations by fabricating in its mind and objectifying upon space-time another event in the past, namely, the resurrection.[19] It is noticeable, however, that Bultmann is unable to reject the entire resurrection tradition from primitive history, for, as a New Testament scholar, he knows that the tradition is far too closely related

to the crucifixion to allow the one to be destroyed without the other.

We see, therefore, that Bultmann's attempt to demythologize the biblical narratives results in conclusions that are often more disquieting than Kierkegaard's homilies and confessions. In his opinion there is too much emphasis in modern theology on *Historisch* for the historical Jesus lacks the essential power necessary for conversion which the existential or *geschichtliche* Christ and his cross possess in a pre-eminent degree. Consequently, Bultmann reiterates, that the real crisis of faith is the choice between the objective, historical Jesus and the existential, contemporaneous Christ.[20]

The advantages to be gained by Bultmann's distinction between internal and external history are regarded by some scholars to be considerable. The "sacred event" is completely independent of temporal history. It occurs only as an eschatological Now within the consciousness of the believer. From Bultmann's point of view, the whole realm of historical experience involving the mediation of nature, of natural causes and effects, is extraneous to the life of faith and even a threat to it. This lifts our faith beyond the attacks of science, literary criticism, or any of the numerous disciplines which deal with the affairs of time and space, of traditions and written records. Nevertheless, on examination, these advantages are seen to be extremely dubious. We do not regard it as a gain for theology in its attempts to reach the mind of modern man to read into the scripture texts dogmatic statements and then to bypass difficult literary and historical facts.[21] We do not believe that such a method is acceptable to a generation brought up in a scientific atmosphere. It is too suggestive of sharp practice in the eyes of modern man. Furthermore, when the resurrection of Christ is thought of as a "sacred event", transcending time and space, it loses its revelatory value. For that which is said to reveal history must participate to a significant degree in the order of reality it is supposed to illuminate, just as sign and signified, symbol and symbolized must share a common universe of discourse. What is required is an understanding of history which has a deeper dimension than is commonly accepted, such as we find, for example, in Benedetto Croce's *History as the Story of Liberty* (1941) and R. G. Collingwood's *The Idea of History* (1946). As I have written elsewhere in regard to the distinctive attitude of St

John towards historical facts: "The works of Christ have at one and the same time the significance of a deed done in all objective actuality, and a revelation whose importance lies in its subjective appreciation."[22] The best answer to Bultmann's diagnosis of the religious crisis mentioned above seems to me therefore to lie in a deeper appreciation of history such as is found in the Fourth Gospel, rather than in evacuating history of all significance for religious faith.

1 *Kerygma und Mythos*, vol. II, ed. Bartsch (1952), pp. 205 f.
2 For a discussion of the place of objectivity in Bultmann's thought, see, L. Malevez, *The Christian Message and Myth* (1958), pp. 92 ff.
3 Op. cit., pp. 29 ff, 185 ff.
4 *Kerygma and Myth* (1954), p. 24.
5 *Theology of the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 239.
6 The difficulty of achieving such an agreement by scholars who emphasize the historical aspect of Christianity is illustrated by the criticisms directed against the works of C. H. Dodd and Austin Farrer by T. A. Roberts in *History and Christian Apologetic* (1960). Roberts, however, builds his criticisms upon very limited pre-suppositions.
7 *Essays Philosophical and Theological* (1955), pp. 17 f.
8 Op. cit., pp. 2, 94, 98, 246 ff.
9 *Jesus and the Word* (1934), pp. 87 f, 216 ff.
10 *Glauben und Verstehen* (1933), vol. I. pp. 106 f, 206 ff, 227 f.
11 *Jesus and the Word*, pp. 7 ff.
12 O. Cullman, *Christ and Time* (1951), p. 30.
13 *Kerygma and Myth, III.*
14 Op. cit., p. 36.
15 L. Malevez, *The Christian Message and Myth*, p. 79.
16 Barth, *Dogmatics*, vol. IV. part I, pp. 767 f.
17 *Eternal Hope* (1954), pp. 134, 217.
18 *Kerygma and Myth*, p. 38.
19 Ibid. Cf. also *Theology of the New Testament*, vol. I. chap. ii. sec. 5.
20 *Primitive Christianity in its contemporary Setting* (1956), pp. 187 f.
21 Cf. Alan Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* (1958), p. 9. In fact a reaction has already set in against Bultmann's position in Germany. See James M. Robinson, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1959), pp. 12 ff.
22 *The Religious Thought of St. John* (1950), p. 28; cf. pp. 135 ff. Cf. the following remark by J. S. Lawton in *Miracles and Revelation* (1960), p. 250: "The modern study of the history of religion shows us that it has been through reaction with his material environment, through contact with peculiar circumstances and places, that man has become gradually aware of his own spiritual nature and has been led to form ideas about the unseen world."

A TENTATIVE CONSIDERATION ON INTERCOMMUNION

K. W. HAWORTH

SHOULD we not be profoundly concerned to find that we are thinking and acting inconsistently? And that, in a rather embarrassed way, we have been doing so for about forty years? The Committee on Unity of the Lambeth Conference, 1958, was prepared to recommend that Presbyterians (under a particular condition) should be welcomed regularly, not exceptionally, to communion in Anglican churches; but not that Anglicans should communicate in Presbyterian churches: "it was", they said, "in practice impossible to envisage the establishment of fully reciprocal intercommunion at any stage short of the adoption of episcopacy by the Churches of Presbyterian Order", for "Anglicans conscientiously hold that the celebrant of the Eucharist should have been ordained by a bishop standing in the historic succession."[1] This is qualified, for it is only said that Anglicans "generally believe it to be their duty to bear witness to this principle by receiving Holy Communion only from those who have been thus ordained." and this conviction is then described as "a view held among Anglicans". But it would appear that all Anglicans, or almost all, believe an episcopally ordained minister to be the proper minister of the Eucharist, and that some Anglicans would therefore think it wrong, or improper, to receive communion from a minister not so ordained. Therefore Lambeth could not recommend fully reciprocal intercommunion. The result is certainly one-sided. You may, in effect, say Amen to my prayers; but I will not say Amen to yours. The episcopal Eucharist is good in some way that the non-episcopal Eucharist is not good. That view was stated abruptly by Canon Liddon:

> Where there is no bishop, there is no priest:
> Where there is no priest, there is no sacrament:
> Where there is no sacrament, there is no Church:
> Where there is no Church, there is no salvation.[2]

And it was stated with equal explicitness, but with greater conciliation, by the late Bishop Kirk. The bishops are the Essential Ministry, and they alone can secure the continuity and maintenance of the Church of the New Testament. "If this Church

disappears, the gospel sacraments as efficacious signs of grace disappear with it; we are left with mere *simulacra* of the sacraments . . . leaving at best in their stead only voluntary associations of like-minded people who profess Christian principles, and edifying symbolic ceremonies associated with the ideas of ritual cleanness and a common meal . . ." [3] On that view, when a Free Church minister, a Presbyterian minister, solemnly administers the Lord's Supper to his carefully prepared congregation, it is not the sacrament at all. Of course an Anglican, holding that view, could not receive communion from a Presbyterian or a Methodist minister.

But this is where we are officially inconsistent, for the same unity committee of Lambeth, 1958, which recommended one-sided intercommunion, also on the previous page gave its opinion that "the Anglican Churches ought to be ready to recognize the Presbyterian Churches as true parts of the One, Holy Catholic, and Apostolic Church, and that the spiritual effectiveness of their ministerial orders ought not to be implicitly or explicitly questioned."[4] We are only exceptionally told when or whether any part of a Lambeth report is unanimous or not, but the report on Relations with Presbyterian Churches, though it made the same one-sided recommendation, said firmly that in both episcopal and presbyterian churches the ministry is "a ministry of the Word and Sacraments".[5] That was signed, without a minority report, by what we should call a representative group of Anglicans. And this goes back to the momentous Lambeth Conference, 1920, which issued its then startling appeal for reunion to all Christian people: in just the same cautious way they offered a one-sided communion,[6] while they also said emphatically, and that in the resolutions of the whole conference, as well as in the unity committee, that "we thankfully acknowledge that these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace."[7] Our inconsistency goes back forty years.

Dr Kirk was not indefinite or evasive. We could unkindly apply both adjectives to these official statements, but not to Dr Kirk. He himself accused the official documents of evasion by the use of unusual adjectives such as "real" when there were known technical terms available. He is quite clear that Free Church sacraments are invalid, and saw no point in saying otherwise. But this definiteness does not save him from being ultimately inconsistent. He is at pains to explain that the opposite of "valid" is not "null", but

"pretensed". An invalid sacrament looks like a valid sacrament; it claims to be something which it is not. He compares the situation to a couple living happily together without having gone through any marriage ceremony: one could suppose genuine happiness and mutual loyalty, all the reality and substance of a true marriage, but it would not be valid, it would not be recognized. When, however, he dismisses Free Church sacraments as mere *simulacra*, even this attempt to soften his condemnation does not leave them substance.

Yet he was conciliatory. He dismissed Free Church sacraments as invalid, but he had no shadow of doubt that Free Churchmen were Christians, and he said so far more handsomely perhaps than official documents could do. ". . . any serious-minded man", he wrote, "hearing that the validity or otherwise of non-episcopally ordained ministries was in dispute . . . would at once say, 'Then they must be behaving very like duly ordained ministers'. . . . And his conclusion would be perfectly right. . . . By their instrumentality men and women are converted, brought to acknowledge the supremacy of God and the truths of redemption, led to penitence, renewal of life, thanksgiving, prayer, worship, self-discipline, and the practice of the Christian virtues . . . at times when the valid ministry has been disloyal to its trust, they have nobly borne the burden and heat of the fight."[8]

After this glowing and deserved tribute, it seems inconsistent to deny that the Free Churchman's administration of the Lord's Supper has any relation to the ordinance of Christ, and to assert that no sacramental grace can be received by it. The Free Churchman intends to do what Christ intended; there can be no doubt whatever of his sincerity and devotion. It seems intolerable, and untrue to observed facts, to deny that Free Church Eucharists are real, effective, fruitful, whichever adjective we prefer to use. If we say that they are invalid, then it seems that validity must bear a strictly limited meaning. Dr Kirk defined it thus: "that is valid which, by virtue of satisfying certain conditions laid down by competent authority, is actually entitled to everything to which it appears or claims to have a title."[9] On his view, Free Church Eucharists do not satisfy the conditions; therefore they are invalid, and have no right to the results, in this case, to sacramental grace. But he admits that Free Churchmen are Christians; that is an observed fact. There seem to be two possible explanations of the

resultant situation. God's grace is given in many ways; sacramental grace is one kind of grace: though they are not entitled to receive the particular kind of grace called sacramental from a sacrament that is invalid, yet to their good faith and ignorance God gives grace in a general sense, and that is more than sufficient for them. Alternatively, though their sacrament is invalid, yet, because they minister it ignorantly but sincerely, God does in fact give to each communicant the sacramental grace to which he would have been entitled at a valid sacrament. This would be really Scotist occasionalism: God creates sacramental grace on each occasion: but, if God can be trusted to give grace on every occasion, Scotist occasionalism is really just as much guaranteed as the prevalent view that sacraments are true causes of grace.[10] And both these views seem to call, like pre-Copernican astronomy, for the use of Occam's razor: *entia non sunt multiplicanda*. On our premises, Free Church sacraments are invalid, and have no right to bestow sacramental grace: but Free Churchmen are sincere Christians, practising what Christ commanded. Are our premises in need of scrutiny?

A craftsman uses different tools for different tasks. Building materials differ, and therefore styles, from one age to another. So do weapons of warfare, and a hundred other things. Are we employing the wrong tool for our particular problem, or supposing that formulae and doctrines which met the situation of an earlier Christian century are certain to be equally successful with the twentieth? Dr Kirk has already tacitly disused one earlier solution. In the second century a handful of unknown and intellectually mediocre Christians, who have never yet been honoured as they deserve, defeated the massive intellectual onslaught of the Gnostics. These brave or obstinate men said bleakly, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*: like the Israel of Nehemiah and Ezra, they saw the choice in black and white. "Outside are dogs." But neither Dr Kirk nor anyone else denies that the Free Churches are Christians.

Thus, when in 1920 the Lambeth Conference made their then startling appeal for reunion, they said in their encyclical letter, ". . . The unity which we seek exists. It is in God . . . the one Father . . . Again, the one Body exists. . . . We have only to discover it."[11] And, when we talk of reunion to-day, we do not talk of amalgamating various competing religious societies into one

society, like an amalgamation of railways, because it may be convenient administratively. We are talking not of recovery, but of rediscovery of the unity which we already possess in Christ. We are reuniting because we are already one. We are becoming what we are. Christians involved in the ecumenical movement, wrote William Nicholls, find that the basis of their work "lies in a given unity, a unity which we do not make ourselves, but discover as we come together".[12] Once we assume that, once we recognize, as Dr Kirk recognized, that these others belong to our Lord, we can only be embarrassed by our visible divisions, and conscious of personal guilt. We did not make the divisions; our fathers did, but we perpetuate them without the theological earnestness which compelled our fathers to create them. Directly I recognize fundamentalists inside our Anglican Church or Methodists outside as our brothers in Christ, I see that "it is abnormal, scandalous and sinful for me to be divided from my brother . . . I am guilty of the sin of schism, even on the supposition, which it is now much harder for me to hold, that in every point on which we are divided I am right and he is wrong."[13] "I can no longer give a slick and confident exposition of his errors. When I want to tell somebody where my brother has gone wrong, I stumble in my speech, and hesitate, at a loss for words. For I now see his faith as it were from the inside."[14]

In that situation, which is stated there as a personal experience shared across our divisions, it becomes difficult to dismiss non-episcopally ministered Eucharists as *simulacra*, or to be anything but uncomfortable about one-sided intercommunion. Are we perhaps meeting a modern situation with tools that belong to old controversies, or using good instruments outside the range of work for which they were designed?

Validity is a legal term. That is its strength. It satisfies the conditions laid down by competent authority, as Dr Kirk defined it. We may see that in the series of questions which the parish priest is instructed in the Prayer Book to put to those who were responsible for the baptism of a baby at home, when the sick baby has after all recovered and been brought to church. When those are satisfactorily answered, he then certifies the congregation that all is well done and according to due order. It was a valid baptism. Is it fair to say that the Protestant side, insisting on experience, keeping their eye, as it were, on the main chance, looking for

genuine as opposed to formal religion, enquires only whether the sacrament has visibly conferred grace, and is in danger of making the sacrament depend on the faith which the individuals or the congregation bring to it? Whereas to the doubter and the scrupulous the Catholic is able to say, the conditions were fulfilled when that sacramental act was performed; it is valid; God did act, God was present, as he promised, and you, having wilfully put yourself within the sphere of that gracious act, have been in some way handled by God for good.

"The concept of validity", writes Fr Leeming, "involves belief that God does something in the sacraments; the real question is what does God do when no personal holiness is produced."[15] Every parish priest has tried to explain to confirmation candidates why their lapsed predecessors did not look or do any better: they were given the help, but they did not use it. So Fr Leeming displaces Dr Kirk's definition by his own: "the validity of sacraments which are fruitless in grace . . . [is] explained by the conferring of the sacramental reality."[16] This definition is of course based on tradition. The practice of the Church has been never to repeat baptism, for instance, even where the subject had never received further instruction, or had lapsed. The answer must be that baptism imprinted an irrevocable character on the subject: ". . . the grace of incorporation into Christ, the normal channel of which is baptism, is a supernatural fact in the ontological order."[17] When we have fulfilled the conditions which make up validity, then God acts.

Validity is a legal term. That is its strength. It is also its weakness. St Anselm's theory of the atonement was criticized on the grounds that a theory which begins with mathematics is likely to end with mathematics. An approach to the sacraments which begins with law is in danger of applying law outside its province. We do not make a valid, but a good, communion. The concept of validity can tell us that the conditions have been satisfied; it cannot tell us whether or to what extent a particular reception of any sacrament will be fruitful. And the application of this legal concept outside its range obliges its users to deny the reality of Free Church sacraments. Fr Leeming can discuss the problem of valid sacraments which are fruitless; but he cannot visualize the problem of sacraments technically invalid which as a fact of experience are being fruitful. We shall still agree with him that it will not do to

make observable good fruits the test of validity. We still need the concept of validity in its place.

But not outside its place. Professor Einar Molland finds Canon Law to be the first characteristic of the Roman Catholic Church. Obligations are laid upon the members of the Church: in the armed forces everyone knows that provision must be made for Roman Catholics to attend Mass as it has to be made for no other Christians. A priest has to perform all the actions of the Mass correctly, and of other duties. When orders are given by the Pope or the bishops, the faithful obey. And in theology a view once strongly held cannot lightly be dismissed; de Lugo's theories of the Eucharistic sacrifice may not be written off, but explained; he was not wrong, but misunderstood.[18] There appears a tremendous sense of mutual respect and loyalty, but there is also the danger that the laws of man may be so interwoven with the laws of God that the institutional Church may demand an obedience due only to God.

Every parish priest knows how easily people mistake the sign of the cross for Baptism itself. More serious problems are raised by the use of unction in confirmation and the tradition of the paten and chalice at Ordination. Clearly in both sacraments the New Testament knows explicitly only a laying on of hands. Yet Pope Eugenius IV notoriously regarded the tradition of the instruments as the essential rite of ordination. Certainly the Church cannot add ceremonies which would change or invalidate Christ's ordinance, but laying on of hands is used for several purposes; the Church can, perhaps should, by act and word make the purpose more precise, more clear.[19] But, suppose a minister or a province of the Church, desiring to return to Scripture, disuses such a rite which the Church has used for long: is he not, is that province not, denying what the Church had intended to say by the addition? Without that rite, the sacrament is invalid. But it still remains true that it was added by the Church to what the Lord laid down.

The doctrine of intention will serve us better than the concept of validity, because intention is personal and in the sacraments we are dealing with the personal activity of God. "Heretics may not intend to do what the Church really does, and yet may have sufficient intention, provided their prevalent intention is to do what the true Church does, or to do what Christ wished."[20] This has always been admitted for Baptism. Should it not be admitted

also for the Eucharist? At this point, too, "heretic" is a word which begs the question. We are rediscovering unity, a unity which is, at the deepest level, given. To exchange epithets and labels will not really help our search. These congregations, this worldwide communion, are Christian, and, perhaps even as the unmistakable and central rite of their regular worship, they take bread and wine, and recite the Words of Institution, and receive together. It lacks all the ceremony even of the barest Anglican church. But they act on Christ's warrant, and intend to do what he intended.

It was precisely on these grounds of defective intention that Pope Leo XIII in 1896 declared Anglican ordinations to be "absolutely null and utterly void".[21] The Bull did not raise the question of Archbishop Parker's consecration, nor did it criticize the disuse of the medieval ceremony of the tradition of paten and chalice. It concentrated on the intention expressed in the altered form of words which accompanied the laying on of hands. Nor indeed did it criticize the Anglican formula so much for what it said as for what it omitted: ". . . in the whole Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the sacrifice, of consecration, of the sacerdotium, and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but . . . every trace of these things, which had been in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out . . . if the rite be changed, with the manifest intention of introducing another rite not approved by the Church and of rejecting what the Church does, and what by the institution of Christ belongs to the nature of the Sacrament, then it is clear that not only is the necessary intention wanting to the Sacrament, but that the intention is adverse to and destructive of the Sacrament."[22]

We should criticize the equal weight given to the institution of Christ and the approval of the Church, as has been said earlier. If we on the other hand prefer the doctrine of intention to the concept of validity, and not vice versa, then we can say that the Free Churches, when they administer the Lord's Supper, do intend to do what Christ intended, and what the true Church should intend although, since they do not conform to the rules of the Catholic Church, they are not valid. At the same time, distinguishing in this way between the ordinance of Christ and the rules of the Church, we do not deny their reality. It seems more difficult to observe this distinction in using the legal concept of validity than

in using the personal doctrine of intention. Validity then would signify that the rules applicable to this or that sacrament had all been kept as understood by the Church, and that therefore we could be sure that God would respond as he promised. Where we are dealing with those whom we must call Christians who do not accept the rules or belong to the unity of the Church as we know it, then the doctrine of intention includes them as fulfilling the forms of Christ's institution as recorded in the New Testament, and justifies our assertion and conviction that they do through their use of those forms receive sacramental grace.

For example, there are ministers even inside the Church of England and certainly among the Methodists who on strict temperance views employ non-alcoholic wine at the Communion. There can be little doubt that the wine our Lord used at the Last Supper was made in the ordinary way from the fermented juice of the grape. Very rarely have Christians gone on record as using water or some other substitute, and they have been eccentric. We should be bound to say that this was invalid. But we can also admit that they are intending to do what Christ did, and therefore expect that they, perverse as they may seem to us, do no less than we receive the grace promised.

The Papal condemnation was on the grounds of defective doctrine. The Anglican rite did not intend to do what the Church did, particularly on the doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice. We need not here discuss our Archbishops' reply, that the Anglican rite did in fact teach a true doctrine of sacrifice; but they certainly and rightly admitted the principle of the Pope's argument, that defective doctrine and intention could make it doubtful whether a particular Christian body or an individual minister was intending what Christ intended. When, for instance, a Unitarian hymnbook alters "Rejoice, the Lord is King", to "Rejoice, for God is King", it is setting out to deny the Divinity of Christ, in the same way as Arians who varied the form of the *Gloria* in the fourth century so as to deny the equality of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. But it would not be so easy to deny the name of Christian to a body, or church, which disused the Latin Canon, as Lutherans did, and contented themselves with the bare recital of the Words of Institution. They were certainly rejecting the sacrifice of the Mass as it had been understood, and they draw a very sharp distinction between the sacrifice of Christ as the only propitiatory sacrifice

and the sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving which are the sacrifices of Christian men.[23] There could then be a radical reinterpretation of the Eucharist, expressed in a difference of rite. But, so long as the Words of Christ are recited, so long as the minister and congregation intend sincerely to do as Christ willed, it would seem impossible to deny the reality of the sacrament.

Within the Church of England there have been notorious differences of understanding. Cranmer with great skill Englished a rite to express a particular Reformed doctrine, though there may be doubt which particular shade he intended. The modifications of the Elizabethan Prayer Book, small as they were in number, effected a significant shift in a Catholic direction. Though the bishops in 1662 failed to make the larger shifts that some would have wished, nevertheless the rite has always been patient of use by High Churchmen, and the logic of the Lord's foundation has never with this Sacrament or with any other aspect of his teaching or Person, allowed a rigid or narrow definition. Where then a High Churchman or a Low Churchman uses our Liturgy and intends to exclude the other's interpretation, he is nevertheless unable to do so. In using the Church's liturgy, he is doing what the Church does. In so far as the Church of England has tolerated receptionist views as well as a doctrine of the Real Presence, no priest can by using the Anglican rite deny the right of his opponents to hold the other view. And his proper intention must be to do, through his Church's rite, what Christ intends. He may believe that particular views are excluded from Christ's intention and from that intention's expression in the Church's liturgy; but he can only exclude them so far as Christ excludes them, he is bound to submit his intention to the will and intention of Christ, and that intention may include views which he regards as erroneous or wrong: yet, intending what Christ intends, he, rehearsing the Words of Institution, prays for understanding and accepts his Master's reversal of his own understanding and desires.

To make these admissions does not involve, it seems, immediate freedom of intercommunion, but rather contradicts it.

"The Eucharist is the sacrament of the Church's unity. . . . The reality of this sacrament is the unity of the mystical body."[24] Our individualist communion manuals talk of receiving Christ as a guest in our souls, but we do not receive him alone. The Sacrament

is administered to each communicant, it is "given to thee", and "to thee", not rightly "to you", but the Body which is given is the Body which is the Church. We receive the Body, and renew our baptismal incorporation into the Body of Christ. We are, and we receive, the blessed company of all faithful people.

This is the unity which we rediscover. At a deep level we are now one, in our common relationship to our common Lord, by whom all the divided altars and tables are named. But we are in fact organized separately from one another, and even against one another. The only real unity is a visible unity, seen to be so. A church which shares a common liturgy or a common directory of worship can claim, whatever the divergence of view, that all its members and ministers intend to do what the Church intends, and they must be intensely conscious, when they find acute divergences, of the need for reconciliation. But, where there is no such common bond, there cannot be the knowledge yet of real unity. On that ground, intercommunion seems unreal and untrue. We ought not to deny the reality of the sacraments of those separated from us; they are real ministries of the Word and Sacraments, they do not need any fresh ordination in order to make their Eucharists more than they are, they bestow and receive sacramental grace, doing what Christ intended. We have been misled by the tyranny of validity into the supposition that Free Church sacraments were not sacraments at all. And so we have given the wrong reason for the wrong action, for one-sided intercommunion, a contradiction in terms, is the one course which betrays logic and bars the road with prejudice. We ought to have refused intercommunion altogether until it could be reciprocal, on the clear ground that the inward reality of the Eucharist is the unity of the Church in Christ, and we are not capable of receiving that inward reality from those with whom we do not have visible unity, nor are they capable of receiving it from us. We long to receive it from them, but we dare not yet.

1 *The Lambeth Conference, 1958*, 2. 44.
2 Cited by Charles Smyth, *Life of Archbishop Garbett.*
3 *Apostolic Ministry*, ed. K. E. Kirk, pp. 39-40.
4 Ibid., 2. 43.
5 *Relations between Anglican and Presbyterian Churches*, p. 14.
6 *The Lambeth Conference, 1920*, Resolution 12.
7 Ibid., Resolution 9. vii.

8 Op. cit., 37.
9 Op. cit., 33.
10 Leeming, *Principles of Sacramental Theology*, p. 295.
11 *The Lambeth Conference, 1920*: encyclical letter, p. 12.
12 William Nicholls, *Oecumenism and Catholicity*, p. 28.
13 Ibid., p. 21.
14 Ibid., p. 20.
15 Leeming, op. cit., p. 271.
16 Ibid., p. 274.
17 Mascall, *Christ, the Christians and the Church*, p. 87.
18 Masure, "The Christian Sacrifice." *E.T.*, pp. 27ff.
19 Leeming, op. cit., pp. 429ff.
20 Leeming, op. cit., p. 449.
21 *Anglican Orders* (Church Historical Society), p. 14.
22 Ibid., pp. 11, 13.
23 Cranmer, *The Lord's Supper* (Parker Society), p. 346.
24 Aquinas, *S.Th.* III. lxxiii ad 2, 3.

COMMUNICATION IN THE ANGLICAN TRADITION[1]

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COMMUNICATION is a wide term and the writer of a paper on the subject need not fear that he is likely to be handicapped for lack of material. It will be understood here as theological communication in a strict sense, and special reference will be devoted to the forms of theological expression and the type of subject-matter which has been thought to be most important within the Anglican tradition.

The Form of Anglican Theological Communication

The Church of England has never possessed and (to speak frankly) has never wished to possess any full-scale *Summa*. We have no Anglican Thomas Aquinas, Calvin, or Melanchthon. Anyone who tries to turn himself into an Anglican systematic theologian quickly finds considerable difficulty in the attempt. The Anglican heritage of Christian Faith and Life does not convert easily into a Church Dogmatics of the Barthian or similar type. We have indeed Anglicans who are systematic theologians (the names of Charles Gore and Eric Mascall spring readily to mind) but no Anglican Systematic theology, since the possibility of other systems derived from other streams of the Anglican tradition can never be excluded in principle.

Many of our greatest works in systematic theology were produced in particular situations to meet specific threats. Thus Jewel's *Apology* was designed to provide a standing ground against Roman Catholic polemic in the early years of our independent existence as a Church. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* performed a similar service against the Puritans. Pearson on the Creed was directed against the Socinians, while Butler's *Analogy of Religion* had contemporary Free Thought in mind. At its best there is a keen eye for relevance in Anglican theological writing.

Anglican systematic theology has often taken the form of Commentaries on the Thirty-nine Articles. Thomas Rogers in the sixteenth century, Gilbert Burnet in the eighteenth, Harold Browne

[1] A Paper read to the Anglo-Scandinavian Conference at Ripon Hall in July 1959.

in the nineteenth, and Gibson and Bicknell in the twentieth century are outstanding examples of this idiom. This mode of expression will come as no surprise to Lutherans who are perhaps more familiar with the concept of confessional documents than we are ourselves. The Anglican Articles have never had the same position in the eyes of Anglicans as the Augustana in your own. To read Griffith Thomas *Principles of Theology* and Bicknell's *Theological Introduction to the Thirty-nine Articles* might almost make the reader wonder whether they are commenting on the same document! It suggests at least that our confessional standard is somewhat more plastic and malleable than those of other Churches.

Yet of hardly less importance have been expositions of the Prayer Book taken as a whole, such as Anthony Sparrow's *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer* and Thomas Comber's *Short Discourses on the Book of Common Prayer*. The influence of such works as Evan Daniel and Procter and Frere on the Prayer Book continue into our own day. If I understand the Lutheran tradition aright, I should not expect a similar idiom in your Scandinavian Churches. While for you liturgy must follow doctrine, the principle *Lex orandi, lex credendi* (though not without its dangers and not least to-day) has often obtained in the Anglican tradition. The influence of liturgical studies set against a considerably wider canvas continues in the volume *Liturgy and Worship* and Dom Gregory Dix's *Shape of the Liturgy*.

An important feature of Anglican theology is the place which it assigns to historical studies. This particular approach to systematic theology may appear somewhat oblique and indirect but it has nevertheless proved a fruitful means of communication. Archbishop Ussher's work on Ignatius was not only a valuable contribution to the study of the subject but had relevance to the problems of his own day. John Cosin's *Scholastical History of Transubstantiation* took its place in the anti-Roman Catholic armoury of the Church. Wall's *History of Infant Baptism* was a contribution to the theological debate with the Baptists. Lightfoot's famous excursus on the Christian Ministry and more recently the Dean of Winchester's *Old Priest, New Presbyter* have had their place in contemporary ecumenical discussion. Dr Mascall draws a distinction between the Anglican appeal to history and the appeal to Anglican history. While he is undoubtedly right that the history to which we appeal does not begin with the English Reformation, others will

find cause for disquiet that apparently little regard is often paid to this part of our heritage. Sound theology must be based upon honest history and any attempt to by-pass our independent tradition (even in favour of the Patristic period) would lead inevitably to absolutizing one tradition at the expense of others. It is in effect our own special position as a Church within history that has lead to the importance of this particular idiom of theological writing.

The occasional character of much Anglican theological writing can be illustrated in modern times by the number of collections of essays written by different hands which have appeared during the past century. The fashion seems to have started with *Essays and Reviews*, a broad Church manifesto, and the volumes published under the editorship of Streeter suggest that the Liberal tradition has always found something congenial in this genre. The two collections *Contentio Veritatis* and *Foundations* were a deliberate attempt by a group of university teachers to address themselves to a given theological situation. While the late Mgr R. A. Knox (then still an Anglican) entitled his personal counterblast to *Foundations* *Some Loose Stones*, there is reason to believe that his Oxford colleagues had a far keener eye for relevance than their acute and brilliant critic. On the Evangelical side of the Church there were two collections of essays, *Liberal Evangelicalism* and *The Inner Life*, as well as *The Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion* which have not, it must be confessed, worn as well as two distinguished sets of Anglo-Catholic essays *Lux Mundi* and *Essays Catholic and Critical*. The former had the great merit of attempting the restatement of classical orthodoxy in terms of the concept of Evolution, while the latter sought to get to grips with modern critical method which was as yet in its infancy when *Lux Mundi* was written. It represents the same fundamental attitude as its predecessor applied to a later situation.

Besides systematic and historical theology the Church of England has classically encouraged what used to be known as "practical divinity". Here both systematic and spiritual theology are involved. Thus Lewis Bayly's *Praxis Pietatis or the Practice of Piety* ran through an incrediable number of editions in its time. It represented a basically Calvinist system of theology and spirituality. Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying* and the anonymous work *The Whole Duty of Man* moulded much serious thought. Other examples of this type are George Herbert's *The Temple* and *The*

Priest to the Temple, Robert Nelson's *Companion to the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England*, and John Keble's *Christian Year*. To these must be added the considerable number of Communicant Manuals which appeared particularly in the last two centuries. The continued development of a peculiarly Anglican "practical divinity" was hindered rather than helped by the flood of post-Tridentine Roman Catholic volumes which started with Pusey's translation of Gaume's *Manual for Confessors*. But the important series of Lent books (such as those commisioned by the Bishop of London) marks a continuation of this tradition.

The Anglican tradition has classically not been averse to the catechetical method. A famous example is Bishop Hopkins' *Catechistical Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* which contains a a good deal of most valuable material for the catechist. The method continued into the nineteenth century with Wordsworth's *Theophilus Anglicanus*, much more solid fare but enjoying a wide circulation until quite modern times. Yet no Anglican Catechism enjoys the prestige of Luther's Longer and Shorter Catechisms or the Westminster and Heidelberg Catechisms of the Reformed tradition. Nor have we anything corresponding in scope and importance to Pontoppidan's Catechism in the Norwegian Church. That need has been felt for a more modern and relevant form of catechetical document in the Church of England is proved by the fact that a Commission is engaged at the moment in a revision of the Prayer Book form.

Finally we must note the publication of collections of sermons. No one who has been concerned with libraries can fail to be astonished at the number of individual discourses published during the eighteenth century—Funeral Sermons, Assize Sermons, Sermons on particular Fasts and Commemorations, Sermons on Festivals of the Sons of the Clergy or of Societies for the Reformation of Manners. They are mostly rather derivative and to our taste singularly uninspired, but presumably sure of a market. But the great sets of Sermons by Andrewes, Donne, Jeremy Taylor, Tillotson, Simeon, Newman, Robertson of Brighton, and Liddon are a different matter. They normally represent long theological discourses, often amounting in bulk to several volumes. Preaching was clearly far more of a public activity than it has recently become. Yet the publication of slimmer volumes of shorter sermons has recently been resumed and found a ready market.

The Matter of Anglican Theological Communication

There was a phrase widely current during my student days which has, I rather suspect, lost something of its attraction to-day "The Gospel and Modern Thought". And yet it summarizes accurately the heart of the problem of communication in every age and all Churches. Under both heads there are special features which characterize Anglican Communication.

It is part of our Anglican heritage that in the interpretation of the Gospel we have a confluence of three streams of tradition, the Catholic, the Evangelical, and the Liberal. They represent a permanent part of our history though there have been times when each has been in the ascendant. Church history, like any other part of human existence, never moves straight forward; its progress is far more a series of spirals or loops. I suppose that for the first generation of her independent existence there was some prospect that the Church of England would emerge as a High Calvinist Church with an episcopal Church Order. In the Caroline period the Catholic elements in her heritage asserted themselves though it would be a fallacy to approximate the Caroline High Churchmen too closely to their Tractarian successors. It is possible to trace the "take-over bid" between the two in the Durham Chapter in the 1620's and 1630's. More obviously striking is the alternation between the Evangelical and Catholic revivals in the nineteenth century with a brief period at which a Liberal ascendancy was possible in the middle of the century. If I were to give an individual assessment of the position at the moment within the Church of England I should judge that the dominant tradition was a moderate Catholicism. Liberalism seems an attitude of mind seeking a cause and Evangelicalism a great movement regrouping its forces and overdue for a theological revival.

A lay philosopher who is a devout Anglican, Professor T. A. Hodges of the University of Reading, has described us as a dialectical Church and the dialectic goes on. That is the source of our strength as well as a root of our weakness. But the virtue of the situation would be wholly lost if the Church of England were to settle for a compromise position in which the full range of the dialectic were lost.

Yet there is one significant feature about this continuing dialectic which is sometimes overlooked. Each tradition interpenetrates and fertilizes the others. Liberalism is not merely a party; it is a temper

of mind which permeates the other two. Evangelicalism to-day is vastly different from what it was in the 1870's and many (though perhaps not all) Anglo-Catholics have a real and growing awareness of the theological principles and spiritual values of those who differ widely from them.

It is of the essence of this dialectic that from time to time particular principles and problems should be focused in high relief. Such have been Justification by Faith alone, biblical inspiration and, more recently, the Body of Christ theology. The dangers of such partial floodlighting seem sufficiently obvious. The Christian Faith is too much an integrated whole for such a brilliant focus to last for long. The Christian life is too deep and many-sided to submit to such spiritual italicizing. And, while the process continues, there is always the danger of travestying the very doctrine itself. Yet possibly it is only by such methods that the elements which one period has obscured can be recovered. And all the time there are the other traditions which can offer a corrective "Yes but" to redress the balance.

Equally with modern thought. It would probably be true to say that there has been no important movement since the Reformation which has not made its impact upon Anglican theology and which has not at least in modern times been pressed into the service of the Gospel. There is a quality of openness about Anglican theology which can rightly be claimed as its glory. This is partly due to our lack of any single outstanding confessional father. Yet there are two factors which have prevented this openness from having too devastating an effect. There is a certain sober realism about the English national character which can, I think, be paralleled rather closely in our Scandinavian friends. We are much on our guard about the soundness of our axioms and the reasonableness of our conclusions. To discover the last particle of evidence which could be adduced in support of a thesis I would turn to a German scholar, but I would take special pains to examine his axioms and to assess the general reasonableness of his total picture. For clarity and logical symmetry the French school would be my preference but my assent to their conclusions would be tempered by the conviction that truth is greater than logic and I would myself reject many of the inferences drawn from their logical framework. Anglican scholarship is not usually as massive as the German or as sharp-set as the French but is characterized at its best by a keener eye for

the probabilities of a situation and a greater awareness of the complexity and many-sidedness of truth itself. It takes special pains over its starting point and axioms and continually checks its rough-working to see that in the course of the discussion it has not falsified the question. In Anglican scholarship a sharp "Either . . . Or" is more often replaced by a "Both . . . And" and the danger of drawing negative inferences from positive principles is one to which Anglican scholars at their best are particularly sensitive.

The second point which is relevant here is the insular character of Anglican theology. While geographically our position in lying just off the continental shelf may be less and less significant, it is true that theologically this fact has not been without its importance. Linguistically we are either rather lazy or not very gifted and even our ablest students do not take it for granted that their theological studies will not be complete without a period spent on the continent of Europe. This theological insularity, which may be becoming less pronounced than it was, has alike its advantages and disadvantages. It could easily mean that Anglican theology was out of the main stream and was receding into a little backwater of its own. In effect this has not proved to be the case as there are few currents of thought of any importance to which by the very openness of our theological position we have not been exposed. We are not immune to the impact of new theological pressures but we have not normally felt their impact at full force. We had our Hegelian period but it never led to the flat and excessive Immanentalism of the movement on the Continent. English Kenoticism in Christology was more cautious and conservative than the movement elsewhere. We applied the category of Evolution to our theology but mainly in the form of the *Lux Mundi* interpretation and without undue radicalism. Barthianism has never secured a place in Anglican theological circles comparable, for example, to its place in the Church of Scotland. The same time-lag and dilution of impact applies both to Bultmann and the whole Existentialist approach. Each successive movement is, as it were, diluted and absorbed by the Anglican temper and the Anglican heritage.

It seems then that Anglican theology has concerned itself closely with "The Gospel and Modern Thought" and has a lively sense of relevance in its theological writing. It is surely no accident that F. D. Maurice wrote his *Kingdom of Christ* in the form of letters to a Quaker and his *Theological Essays* to a hypothetical Unitarian.

I am not certain how far I should have followed him had I been either the one or other, but the literary form is significant. Anglican theology displays a quite astonishing power of recovery and self-adaptation. It has been alive to the danger that "Restatement may become understatement" but it has not refused to attempt the task for that reason. Its success at this point is due in the main to two reasons. On the human side there has been the safeguard of the continuing dialectic whereby each tradition has counterchecked and supplemented the others and, on the divine side, a deep, though not always theologically expressed, reliance upon the Holy Spirit expressed in wide sweeps of human life and thought.

Two final points, each perhaps expressing a certain feeling of disquiet, may be made. Historically Anglican theology shared a common cultural heritage with the nation as a whole. The tradition has continued until quite recent times and is embodied in the Oxford trivia of Classical Literature, Philosophy, and Theology which has placed so many of us in Oxford's debt. Perhaps the genuinely humane character of Anglican theology owes something positively to this common heritage. But it is a sobering fact that this community of heritage between the theologian and the intelligentsia can no longer be taken for granted. Perhaps however the number of theologians whose early training has been of a different type is on the increase but the gap is only too apparent to those with eyes to see. It has meant much in the past that Anglican theology has been able to draw upon a common secular heritage instead if being merely the product of the seminary or the cloister. Is modern Anglican theology losing something in breadth and relevance for precisely the lack of this common stock of ideas?

Karl Popper has written an admirable book on political theory in which he uses the concepts of the Closed and Open Society. I have sometimes thought that these terms could be rightly adapted to the life of the Christian Church. There are periods at which the whole Church or any part of it emphasizes its commission as the Open Society and other times at which it seems to approximate to the "Closed Shop". There are alternative periods in Church history of engagement with the world and of withdrawal into her own domestic purposes. Perhaps the two notes might be described as "mystery" and "relevance" and here, as in any other department of life in which the human spirit is involved, progress takes the form of an uneasy stagger between the two rather than that of a resolute

and purposeful march forward. Anglican theology (possibly like Lutheranism in some quarters) has been dominated by a kind of Neo-Confessionalism which reflects itself both in internal policy and external relations. There is a feeling after authoritarianism which can be traced in a recrudescence of Fundamentalism on the one hand and a leaning towards Roman Catholicism on the other. Certainly on the undergraduate level I find many of my own students less adventurous and more orthodox in the wooden sense of the word than I could wish. Is it possible that we are looking in the wrong direction to-day for the problem of communication to appear less pressing than it undoubtedly is? If this is so, a terrible nemesis seems inevitably to await us all.

WILLIAM TEMPLE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

DAVID WALKER

THE STORY is told that when Temple visited a Cambridge college to talk to a group of undergraduates he settled down in a large armchair and talked generally as the room filled. Before long there were more undergraduates than chairs and the chaplain came across to the archbishop and said, "Would you mind sitting over here please, there is room for two in the chair you are using". Temple joined in the laugh against himself, as he usually did when his considerable size was mentioned.[1] The story is curiously apt, for throughout his life he gave the impression that he was doing the work of at least two men. His many gifts and his many-sided activities seemed scarcely to be possible within the limitations of one body, one mind, one life-time. Physically, intellectually, and spiritually he was a big man. As a result we tend to think of Temple in terms of adulation. Hyperbole is common when men speak or write about him. Is a balanced judgement yet possible? In my view it is, and it can be given on the basis of what is already known about Temple's life. What is required is rather a re-interpretation of existing information than an accession of new material which might alter opinons. In one sense a balanced judgement has already been given, for in the memoir which the late Dr G. K. A. Bell, then Bishop of Chichester, wrote in 1946, there is a moderation and a judicious appraisal conspicuously lacking in the work of other writers.[2]

The cardinal book about Temple is Dr F. A. Iremonger's biography, a very good biography, but not in any sense a detached book. Its author was too deeply committed to many of the aims for which Temple worked; he shared too many of the archbishop's interests, and he was too deeply attached to Temple as a man to be unbiassed in what he wrote about him.[3] To read Iremonger is to believe that Temple was the greatest thing which had happened to the Church of England for many centuries. In one sense this is a faithful echo of the impression which Temple's life made in many quarters. Canon Roger Lloyd could scarcely find adequate terms to describe Temple's position. For him the archbishop was one who "can be said to have towered over all his contemporaries and to

have dominated the church of his day", and who "rapidly came to be the most considerable personage in the whole of Christendom".[4] He was prepared to claim that "the presence of William Temple was the greatest of all the assets the church possessed as she marched through a profoundly difficult era".[5] Under the shock of Temple's sudden death Archbishop Garbett could say, "Humanly speaking it is an irreparable disaster to the church".[6] Writing in 1959, Canon Charles Smyth, with greater moderation and clearer judgement than many contemporary commentators, shared the common view. He was prepared to say that "it is, humanly speaking, impossible that we shall ever see his like again".[7]

The extraordinary thing about Temple is that so many people welcomed his appointment as archbishop, particularly when he was translated to Canterbury in 1942, and felt that his early death was a major disaster for the Church and a personal loss for themselves. He had a place in the lives and affections of millions who owed little or no allegiance to the God he served or to the Church of which he was a leader. Grief at his loss was nation-wide, and, indeed, extended far beyond these islands. The "cult" of William Temple has solid foundations and cannot rightly be omitted from any assessment of his life.[8]

The impact which he made upon his own generation is to be explained largely in terms of personality. It becomes impossible for those who knew Temple to do other than reflect the tremendous impression which he made upon them. It is almost, if not quite impossible, for those who never met him to recreate the personality which made this impression. Where it is natural now to write about "Temple" or "Archbishop Temple", it was natural in many quarters to speak of him as "William". Canon Smyth has put the historian's difficulties admirably in words which deserve quotation: "In the long list of Primates of the English Church, William Temple stands in a class by himself; nor will it ever be possible for posterity to form an adequate impression of the fascination he exerted, by his combination of many-sided intellectual brilliance with profound simplicity and and solid goodness, by his astonishing vitality, his infectious laughter, his selfless generosity and his serene and humble faith, upon the minds of his contemporaries and particularly of his juniors." For the historian, as for the biographer, the problem is ever-present, but it appears in an acute form when, through the medium of print, an attempt is made to depict one

who is still remembered as vividly as Temple is by so many people at the present time.[9]

William Temple was the product of a Victorian home where good birth and economic security were combined with intellectual ability of a high order. His father was Frederick Temple, a member of an undistinguished family, who was himself a man of parts and a strong, almost an eccentric character, one aptly described as "granite on fire". Fellow of Balliol, headmaster of Rugby, bishop successively of Exeter and London, Frederick Temple appeared to have reached the peak of a stormy but distinguished career. At the age of seventy-five his powers were declining and his sight failing. Then, in 1896 Archbishop Benson died. Queen Victoria was eager that her trusted confidential adviser, Randall Davidson, then Bishop of Winchester should become the new Primate, but the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, was not prepared to agree. She was persuaded that Canterbury should be held for a few years by the old Bishop of London and that then "her wishes might be accomplished".[10] So it was that Frederick Temple became Archbishop of Canterbury and for a few years William Temple knew Lambeth as his home. His mother was a Lascelles and through her he could claim to be a well-connected young man. He was born in 1881 when his father was Bishop of Exeter and from his earliest years he was accustomed to the atmosphere of a bishop's palace, especially of Fulham palace, the residence of the Bishop of London. The normal business of episcopal administration and ecclesiastical politics, the normal social intercourse of a family with a recognized position in society, these were his background. So, too, was the normal routine of family worship which Temple valued so highly throughout his life. Finally, there was the stimulus in matters of the mind which came from the old bishop, with whom Temple and his brother could talk and argue about literature, philosophy, theology, and anything which roused their interest. Temple had a fine mind and from his earliest years it was sharpened on the whetstone of his father's formidable intellect.[11] His respect and affection for his father was unlimited. Much that he achieved in manhood sprang from his early comradeship with his father and was often modelled consciously on the pattern of his father's career.

For his formal education he was sent to Rugby (where his father had been headmaster). There his powers were developed by lively and sympathetic teaching. When he went to Oxford he was a

young man of great promise, sure of his position, with a confidence which he never lost, endowed with a good mind, well read, and already gifted with a power of clear expression and of ready speech. He went to Balliol, still at the height of its great days, and still the home of a brilliant generation of undergraduates. He made his mark equally in College, in the Schools, and in the Union. He carried off a First in Greats and he was widely sought after for a variety of jobs.

At this stage Temple could be described with justice as a brilliant young graduate with strong opinions on almost every subject, views which he could express with force, clarity, and humour. There was about him an arrogance, the product of his confidence and his ability, which did not leave him for many years, and a tendency, perhaps, towards flamboyance. In some ways he was immature, but his mind was alert, and the brilliance of the façade which he presented disguised, though it could not hide completely, his immaturity.

What the future might hold was still uncertain. For the next few years, at least, he was to be a fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford, where he taught philosophy. His duties were not heavy and he had ample time for reading and reflection. In the 1920's Dr Iremonger produced a short "interview" with Temple for the *Guardian*.[12] It is an interesting "interview" because Temple had not yet become the figure larger than life which Iremonger saw when he wrote his biography some twenty years later. He then described Temple as one of the three or four outstanding teachers in the Church who owed their pre-eminence partly to their natural endowments, and partly to the fact that in the years immediately after they had taken their degrees they were free from the normal duties of parochial work and could devote themselves to study. In later life Temple held the same view of the value of these years as a don at Queen's.[13] There is a temptation to say that fallow fields yield well when they are brought back into cultivation. But could Temple be called, at any time in his life, a fallow field? At Queen's he began to engage in the manifold activities which made him a figure of national importance while he was still a young man. There he developed his powers of thought and expression. As a fellow of Queen's he was ordained in 1908.

A move to a wider sphere came in 1910 when he was appointed as headmaster of Repton. For a young Fellow in orders it was a

"normal" move to become headmaster of a public school. It might lead to a life spent in education or it might be a stepping stone to preferment in the Church. Temple had some doubts as to the wisdom of this move, which represented a last minute change of mind, but after refusing one school (Clifton), he accepted Repton.[14] There, for nearly four years he tried the experiment of teaching and administration. He appears to have enjoyed it but it cannot be called a successful experiment.[15] He had made it clear, with that arrogance which still marked him, that he would be a reformer at Repton, and that the governors must take him on those terms. He also intended to shake up the Public Schools in general through the Headmasters' Conference. In the event he left little impression on Repton and none on the Headmasters' Conference. The trouble was not so much that he was a bad teacher or a bad administrator (though there were experiments in teaching which emphasized the element of the ridiculous in him, and there were rumours of moral laxity in his House which might have been checked).[16] With the senior boys and the more able boys he could achieve good results. His popularity with staff and boys alike is unquestioned. But his time was so heavily mortgaged in other ways that he could not devote to the job of headmaster the time and energy which were essential in those early years if he were to make himself an effective force at Repton or in other schools. His stay there was short. An invitation to become a canon of Westminster had to be withdrawn for technical reasons, but in 1916 he was appointed to the rectory of St James', Piccadilly, a church which gave him great opportunities as a preacher but which otherwise demanded little time or attention and which left him free (and well endowed financially) to engage in his many extra-parochial activities. Perhaps the most important work which he did within the church of St James was the series of sermons which he preached there over a period of nearly four years, expounding regularly the Gospel of St John. These sermons were the basis of his *Readings in St. John's* Gospel which he finally published in his maturity.[17]

The story of his progress from rector of St James' to Bishop of Manchester was disturbed by the work which he undertook for the Life and Liberty movement, but that proved to be only a temporary threat to his advance up the ladder of preferment. In 1916 he was offered for the second time a canonry of Westminster, and in 1919, when Life and Liberty had made its way under his guidance, a third

canonry there was offered and, this time, accepted.[18] Then in 1920 he was nominated to the see of Manchester and, thus twelve years after his ordination, he became a bishop. He had twenty-four years ahead of him as bishop, archbishop, and primate before his death.

Perhaps it would be fair to say that Temple was adequate as an Oxford don, as a headmaster (with some reservations here), as a rector of St James', and as canon of Westminster. None of these had made heavy demands on him, and had his preferment depended upon the performance of these duties he might have been in a sorry state. Not until he became a bishop did Temple have to bend all his faculties to the task he was set to do. Even then his interests remained wide and made heavy demands upon his time, but there is a good case to make that these varied activities were not incompatible with his position as an Anglican leader.

In fact, until 1920, his posts and preferments were merely the externals of a career in which the work which he was nominally set to do was by no means the most important work which he was doing at the time. Those who were at the centre of ecclesiastical affairs were more interested that Temple should be free to follow his many interests and, thus, to make his own special contribution to the work of the Church.

This is, I think, the place to consider his relations with Randall Davidson and to bring together two episodes in his life, his ordination and his share in the Life and Liberty movement. With Randall Davidson his relations were always cordial and often close. The archbishop thought of him as the son of an old friend and predecessor, and he watched his work and activities with a warm and friendly interest. Their friendship made possible Temple's ordination. It was placed under a temporary strain by Temple's work for Life and Liberty. It culminated in Temple's nomination, with the full approval of the archbishop, to Manchester in 1920, and in his translation to York in 1928.

Temple's ordination was not a straightforward matter.[19] In 1906 he was a young don teaching philosophy at Queen's and encouraging, as a layman, the Christian life and a Christian outlook wherever he might. He had taken it for granted for many years that he would be ordained, and in 1906 he approached the Bishop of Oxford, Francis Paget. Then, as later, Temple was aware of the strains imposed by a double vocation. As a philosopher he sought for a sound basis in logic and in history for the philosophy which

he maintained. As a Christian, and particularly as a churchman, he was consciously bound by the formulae of belief upheld by the Anglican Church, that is to say, by the Creeds and the Articles. The two claims were not easily reconciled. Temple, like many of his generation, had to resolve some difficulties which limited his acceptance of the Creeds. These difficulties he discussed in a letter to Bishop Paget when he wrote to him raising the question of ordination. In his reply Paget dealt with two points on which he himself had strong opinions, and on which Temple had expressed doubts—the doctrines of the Virgin Birth and the Bodily Resurrection of Christ. To both Temple had given a tentative assent, with a clear indication that his ideas were not yet fixed, and that his opinions were subject to change.[20] Paget felt that he could not accept for ordination "one who, in regard to those two main points of history which I believe to be essential to, inextricable from our Creed, stands on such uncertain, precarious, unsteady ground".[21] Unfortunately, when this problem was raised Temple was in Germany and the whole matter had to be settled by letter. Paget's refusal to accept him as an ordination candidate was a severe blow to Temple, his family, and his friends. He had to wait another two years before ordination was possible. He did not then risk a second refusal. This time he approached the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was willing both to ordain him and to mollify Paget. This was not easy, even for one so skilled at handling delicate situations as Davidson. Nor did his close and long-standing intimacy with Paget help the archbishop. He tried, first, the approach which accepted that Temple had not yet resolved his doubts, but was "in a far more orthodox *spirit* than he was in those days".[22] The archbishop could see no reason why Temple should not be ordained: the issue was whether he should be ordained by Paget or by Davidson. If the latter ordained him, it would appear to be, as of course it was, an attempt by the archbishop to over-set a decision made by one of his suffragan bishops. Skilful as Davidson's letter was, it could not disguise this fact, nor could it disguise the fact that Temple was still on "uncertain, precarious, unsteady ground". Paget refused to change his view. In a letter written as skilfully as the archbishop's, he let it be seen that he had grave doubts about Temple and that a second refusal at his hands was more than possible.[23] So Davidson countered with stronger claims. He now wrote that Temple's

"whole attitude to the Faith has undergone a change or a 'deepening' and that *credal* things possess now a reality for him which they did not, to anything like the same degree, possess before". There was still Temple's original statement of his position to be overcome. He agreed, according to the archbishop, that he had then "expressed himself otherwise than he would now write upon those solemn subjects", and his statement was dismissed as something put in "rather a crude and 'youthful' and ill-considered way."[24] This was not the most flattering description of a letter from the pen of a rising young philosopher, nor does it sound like the normal description of Temple's quite exceptional powers of drafting clear, succinct, and relevant statements. But it served to minimize the events of 1906, and the archbishop could proceed to ordain Temple.

Temple's position on these doctrines of the Virgin Birth and the Bodily Resurrection of Christ did not change over this period. In an undated letter which belongs to the autumn of 1905, Temple wrote, "I am inclined, I think honestly, to assent to the Virgin Birth, though I am pretty clear that it ought not to be in the creed, because it fastens attention on the wrong point."[25] In 1911, when he was headmaster of Repton, his view had not altered. In that year he and a group of friends were responsible for a volume of essays called *Foundations*. The two major topics which might have been considered relevant but on which they could not reach agreement were the Virgin Birth and the Bodily Resurrection.[26] Their work was criticized at length by Ronald Knox (at that date still an Anglican, though an extreme Anglo-Catholic) who called his reply *Some Loose Stones*,[27] and to him Temple wrote a letter stating his own position. In it he said:[28]

> I believe in the Virgin Birth, but I cannot in my own mind find any real theological significance in it; still it wonderfully holds before the imagination the truth of our Lord's Deity and so I am glad that it is in the Creed. Similarly I believe in our Lord's Bodily Resurrection, but if it could (*per impossible*) be disproved, I don't think it would affect my faith as a whole.

It is not difficult to see why Paget refused to be convinced by Davidson's suave confidence.

The doctrinal issue associated with the credal statements of the Virgin Birth and the Bodily Resurrection of Christ, were, of course,

matters of violent controversy within the Church of England in the first decades of the twentieth century. Bishop Gore was vociferous in his demands for a clear and authoritative statement from the bishops which should impose upon the modernists and liberals an unambiguous acceptance of these doctrines. Hastings Rashdall had been the most prominent of the modernist theologians, but the *cause célèbre* of the period arose because of the work of another Oxford scholar, J. M. Thompson, then fellow and dean of Magdalen, who in 1911 published *The Miracles of the New Testament*. The Bishop of Winchester, as Visitor of the College, withdrew Thompson's licence. Thompson, a nephew of Bishop Paget, was closely associated with the group of young theologians with which Temple was in sympathy, though his uncompromising view of these doctrines was not shared by Temple and their associates. The episode radically altered Thompson's career; he ceased to subscribe to the Creeds and felt himself unable to administer the sacraments. He abandoned theology and carved out for himself a new reputation as an historian. The controversy also affected others who championed Thompson's liberty of investigation, notably Hensley Henson, then canon of Westminster.[29]

It gave Davidson great pleasure to ordain Temple and to watch his subsequent career. But relations between the two men were placed under a strain in 1917, with the progress of the Life and Liberty movement, inaugurated to "win for the Church full power to control its own life". That involved a relaxation of the power which Parliament exercised over the Established Church. The movement was planned deliberately as a "ginger group", and its aim was to secure liberty for the Church as quickly as possible. The first World War and the reconstruction which must follow it were seen as a time of opportunity to place the relationship of Church and State on a new basis. Life and Liberty believed that the need was urgent and that the opportunity was at hand. Temple was the most vigorous of the leaders of Life and Liberty. As contemporaries noted, the whole movement rested very largely upon his enthusiasm and ability. One critic, writing in the *Church Times*, alleged that Temple was the Life and Liberty movement, and added the comment: "That is its present strength. It may be its future weakness".[30]

Randall Davidson shared many of the hopes expressed by the leaders of Life and Liberty, but he could not share their sense of

urgency. His natural caution, and his sense of the desperate straits to which the allies had been reduced, both contributed to this view. But he was also annoyed at the public statements put out by the leaders of Life and Liberty. He considered that these misrepresented the outlook as well as the policy of the two archbishops.

As early as 1913 the archbishops had been persuaded to set up a committee on Church and State, which was to examine the possibilities of some devolution of power from Parliament to the Church. That committee reported in 1917 and recommended a form of devolution by which the Church could legislate for matters which were its own affairs, subject to a veto by each House of Parliament. The archbishop welcomed the recommendation, but he was not prepared to rush at the task of implementing it. Throughout this period Temple had played a prominent part in carrying through the policy adopted by the archbishops. He had worked exceptionally hard for the National Mission which the archbishop had inaugurated, and he had served on the committee on Church and State. He knew precisely what the leaders of the Church had in mind, and he had shared in, and helped to forward, their aims. Davidson could not reconcile this with Temple's part in launching the Life and Liberty movement, which was expressly designed to bring pressure to bear on the archbishops in order to achieve aims similar to those for which Davidson was working, however slowly. He considered that Life and Liberty had not given due credit to the initiative which had come from Canterbury. It was this feeling that Temple had, in some measure, acted disloyally, which made Davidson's initial reaction to Life and Liberty, and, for a while, to Temple, so cool. He was, however, convinced that the policy of awakening churchmen to the issues at stake was a sound one, and he came to give the attempt his cordial approval. It was Davidson who steered the Enabling Act through Parliament in 1918. Meanwhile Life and Liberty was rousing opinion and support throughout the country and bringing useful pressure to bear upon the cautious primate.[31]

In all this Temple played a large part. Indeed, his work for Life and Liberty brought him closer to a crisis in his personal life than any other single episode. When the Life and Liberty movement started Temple was rector of St James', Piccadilly, a rich benefice worth £2,000 a year. He was recently married. His future seemed to be secure and full of promise. From St James' he began the

campaigns for Life and Liberty. As the pressure of work grew heavier the suggestion was made that he should resign his rectory in order to devote himself entirely to the new movement. It would involve financial loss, but a more serious question was whether it would also affect his career, for he was obviously marked out for high preferment. There was some risk that he might place in jeopardy the future which others confidently expected for him. This risk was being discussed by those who watched his career, but it was being discounted. Bishop Gore gave his opinion to Temple before the decision had been reached. His letter is at once an indication of what Temple's friends hoped to see him become and of Gore's view of the immediate problem:[32]

> Now I come to the great question you ask me. It is very hard to recommend sacrifice of income to other people especially to married people, and still harder to recommend what might damage prospects. You will rightly refuse to consider this, but not your friends, I think. I greatly wish you to be made a bishop, but on the whole I am disposed to think that that would not be affected.

And he went on to say that

> though I do not venture to urge or even to recommend, I do say that if I heard it were done I should justify and approve, and indeed give thanks.

Dr Iremonger considered that this was the greatest moment of Temple's life.[33] That is to over-rate the episode, but it remains the greatest risk which he incurred during his whole professional career. It brought him closer to disappointment and even, by his standards, to financial hardship, than he was ever to come again. When his brother was fifty, Temple wrote to him, "We have had a big share of the things most worth having, haven't we?", and Dr Iremonger commented, "was it not commonly and truly remarked that the note of tragedy was missing from Temple's life, that he had never been 'up against it'?"[34] Albert Mansbridge records that he and Canon Barnett shared this feeling about Temple and wished that they could "get him into a spot of real difficulty" because "in facing it and overcoming it he would become even stronger".[35]

Here, I think, is the justification for bringing together the two episodes of his ordination and his resignation from St James'. When Paget refused him in 1906 it was a check to Temple's hopes, but

not, so far as I can see, an incentive to his thought. He was too certain of his own mind to think any reconsideration necessary, and, in any case, the way to ordination lay open without the difficult and perhaps salutary discipline of satisfying Paget's doubts. In 1917 there was a risk to be run, but competent judges did not think it very great. Neither occasion placed him under the urgent need to review his beliefs, his attitude of mind, or his life's work. His faith was not of that kind which requires such incentives. It was deeply grounded in a confidence which, at times, seemed to be unquestionable rather than unshakable, a supreme confidence in himself and his beliefs which was an integral part of his make-up, deriving largely from his early life. The arrogance of his youth was to disappear, though not until he went to Manchester in 1920 can this be seen clearly. In later life he retained instead a serenity which was the result of being absolutely sure of himself.[36] His unquestioning self-confidence was the price of this serenity. As he grew older there went with it, increasingly, a genuine humility. His powers of physical endurance, on the other hand, were tested, for he was the victim of gout from which he was never free for any length of time. This painful and troublesome disease crippled and hampered him for short periods throughout his life and it contributed to his early death.

In 1917 Gore was right. Temple's prospects were not damaged. Within two years he was a canon of Westminster (1919), within three, Bishop of Manchester (1920). From Manchester he moved on to York (1928) and, finally, to Canterbury (1942).

The picture which has so far emerged can scarcely be called flattering. The man described could not, if this were all, merit the golden opinions which were being voiced, and which continued to be voiced about him. There is, as it were, another dimension to be added and it changes the whole aspect of the man. When Temple was nominated to Manchester Davidson wrote, "I have from the first desired that you should take up the burden, for I believe that you have the gifts which are needed there . . . I wish you had, in these busy years, been less 'rushed' from post to post."[37] Lang, then Archbishop of York, wrote on the same occasion, ". . . you have yourself to blame if you are marked out for posts of importance such as the bishopric of Manchester . . .".[38] Many years later, when Lang's resignation had been announced and there was speculation as to who would be the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Cyril

Garbett, then Bishop of Winchester, recorded, "Fisher would make a *good* archbishop, (W[illiam] T[emple] might make a *great* archbishop)".[39] It was said of Temple while he was still at Manchester, "Everything he does—he does well. The surprising thing is how he finds time to do it."[40] And after his death, among many other expressions of regret, it was asked, "I wonder where we are going to miss him most?"[41]

If we look at the list of the main activities which occupied his attention we shall see something of the force of these comments. The list is impressive alike for its length and its variety: the Workers' Educational Association; the Student Christian Movement; the National Mission; Life and Liberty; the archbishops' committees on Church and State, and, from 1925-37, on Doctrine in the Church of England, a committee of which he was chairman from 1927-37. Then there was work of different kinds for the Ecumenical movement: a conference on Evangelism at Jerusalem in 1928; work for "Faith and Order" with a conference at Lausanne in 1927, followed by work on the continuation committee of that Conference over the next ten years; the great conference at which he presided at Edinburgh in 1937; similar work in which he played a less prominent part for the Life and Work movement. All this culminated in the work which he did for the establishment of the World Council of Churches: he presided over the provisional committee of that body from 1938 until 1942 and he was president of the British section, the British Council of Churches, from 1942. Then there was the Oxford conference on Church, Community, and State in 1937. Concurrently with all these we can trace a series of landmarks in his work as a Christian social reformer: the conference on Politics, Economics, and Citizenship, held in 1924; an enquiry into unemployment in 1933; the Malvern conference of 1941. There is a variety of other work to be noted. Work for the Lambeth Conference of 1930, where he was chairman of the important committee on Unity in the Church. There were missions to a number of universities, to Cambridge in 1926, to Oxford in 1931, and at different times to Dublin, London, Leeds, and Newcastle. If all this were not enough there were two experiments in journalism, as editor of the *Challenge* from 1915 to 1918, and of *Pilgrim* from 1920 to 1927. Many lesser activities could be added to the list. The pastoral and administrative work which he carried

out as bishop and archbishop for twenty-four years comes almost as an afterthought.[42]

None of these involved merely decorative functions. They all demanded time, thought, and effort. Throughout his life Temple managed to keep up a most strenuous programme. In one fortnight in 1916, for which he recorded his activities, his itinerary took him from London to Southwell, Nottingham, Manchester, back to London, then to Ludlow, Bridgnorth, Hereford, and back to London again; he gave seven addresses, preached seventeen sermons, attended a number of committees and a demonstration in Hyde Park, and allowed himself one private visit worth noting. "So life is rather a strain", he said.[43] That was an unusually busy fortnight, but it could be matched from his busiest days as archbishop. In part, this was possible because of the brilliant clarity of his mind. Problems seemed to require little conscious thought; the issues were usually clear and he could give his opinions concrete, and often striking, form with remarkably little effort. In part, it was possible because he enjoyed such a busy life with enormous zest. In part, again, it was possible because he made use of every minute of his working day. The great speed at which he could work, as well as his habit of making the fullest use of his time, is illustrated by a slight incident which took place at Coventry. There Temple had to meet four engagements in six hours. They left him with one free interval of fifty minutes and during that short time, and in the middle of a heavy programme, he wrote fourteen letters.[44] Speed and clarity of thought without any sacrifice of meaning represent one side of his brilliance. Sheer physical zest represents the other. Observers noted some falling off in his last years at Canterbury, where his programme had become abnormally heavy because of the war, but quite obviously, right to the end, he revelled in the rush and bustle of his life.

These are, perhaps, the chief reasons why he enjoyed so much the conferences and committees on which he made so great an impression. Crowded days and a complicated agenda were exactly the stimulus he needed. He became the most sought-after chairman in the Church. That did not mean that he maintained good order and kept the business running smoothly. When Temple was in the chair the resolutions and decisions of the meeting bore the mark of his own view. He was always ready to guide them in the right direction. On one occasion after he had presided over a meeting of

the Church Assembly he wrote, "I am very glad that this result was reached without my intervening from the chair though of course I was ready to do so if I thought there was any doubt about the decision we should reach and that I could influence the matter."[45] Very often his power of drafting resolutions which were generally acceptable made his influence decisive.[46]

All this helps to account for his usefulness and for his prominence in ecclesiastical affairs from an early age. It accounts for the very wide circle of men who had some direct experience of Temple. But it does not go far enough. It does not account for the affection and respect in which Temple was almost universally held. It holds no clue to the springs from which his strength was drawn. These aspects of his life might be summed up in a single word—integrity: or better, perhaps, in the two words, integrity and sympathy. Temple knew exactly what his own position was, and he declared it. He could accept the process of thought which led other men to take up different positions. No matter how strongly he disagreed he always sympathized with an opponent's point of view. He was always prepared, and usually able, to state clearly what common ground existed between himself and others, and he rarely blurred the lines of demarcation between them. It was this which made him so valuable and so influential a leader in the ecumenical movement. Then again, there was his power, and his invariable practice, to go behind immediate problems and to seek the principles which must be settled before any particular issue could be discussed. Whether he was discussing the place of women in the Church's ministry, or the evils which he saw in drink and gambling, or the moral problems raised by the war, or when he was bringing comfort to the bereaved, he would not depart from this practice. His own view rested on firm reasoning: he stated the principles on which he based his approach to a particular problem; and he would give his sympathetic understanding to divergent points of view. Nowhere is this clearer than in a letter, printed by Dr Iremonger, which Temple wrote in the first world war to a mother whose son had been killed. In it he said:[47]

> . . . I notice that you have, what I have not, a very strong sentiment for the body of any beloved one after the spirit has left it. I have never voluntarily looked at—far less touched—the body of one whom I loved and who had died. And so I do not enter as some would into the sorrow which I saw you felt in leaving the grave. A

> funeral for me is not a parting, but merely the only way open to us of showing honour and love. And I feel that this way of thinking and feeling saves much pain—as well as being, in my judgment, truer to the Christian faith.

He went on to give sound advice as to how she should meet her sorrow and overcome it. Many would have preferred not to state a position in such uncompromising terms on such an occasion.[48]

Clarity in his own views, and charity to the views of other men, may be qualities of mind and temperament. They were subordinated in Temple to profound religious convictions. Within the framework of his career in the Church, Temple was consciously seeking and following the will of God, which for him was "alone supreme".[49] This could be illustrated at length from his sermons, his devotional writings, his letters, and from the experience of hundreds who knew him. It produced in him the simplicity which made Mansbridge call him "a man without guile",[50] and it lead him to display what Bishop Cockin described as "the quality of imaginative courage" which he brought to all his varied activities.[51] Many observers regarded his integrity as the product of his convictions and his devotion. Many were convinced that there was in him a greatness which was not of his own making. Dr Bell recognized that his intellectual contribution to the University Missions which Temple conducted could easily be recovered, but he added, "what is harder to recover is the quite extraordinary impression Temple made of a man entirely integrated in mind and soul through the Christian faith".[52] Whether or not we share the religious convictions and the aims which Temple had, I would submit that his life and reputation stand up well to a severely critical analysis. We may remove the elements of adulation and exaggeration but the elements of greatness survive.

Temple touched so many activities in the life of the Church that it is not easy to say where his greatest contribution lay. Some would wish to claim that it lay in the field of social policy, where he did so much to educate and lead Anglicans of all political colours, and to stress the duties of Christians in this field. Others, rightly as I would hold, give pride of place to his work for the cause of Unity. His colleague in that endeavour, Willem Adolf Visser 't Hooft, has summed up Temple's place in the ecumenical movement:

Temple's strength as an ecumenical leader consisted in the rare combination of a clear theological and ecclesiastical position and a penetrating insight into other positions. His was a mind which did not need to become a closed mind in order to take a firm stand, and which ever remained open to new aspects of the truth. He could lead his readers or hearers into deep places, as in his *Readings in St. John's Gospel* or in his sermons on the Christocentric nature of true ecumenical unity. But he could also show an amazing breadth as he sought to summarise complicated discussions in which the most divergent viewpoints had been put forward, and as he sought to remain in touch with new movements of thought in the younger generation. In his own country he has been called "everybody's archbishop", because he was considered to be a leader of all and a spokesman for all. His position in the ecumenical movement was similar, in that all parts of it and all Churches looked upon him as its leader.[53]

NOTE: I am indebted to a number of writers and publishers for permission to quote from their works, and especially: to the Oxford University Press for permission to quote material from F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple*, and from G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson*; to Hodder and Stoughton for permission to quote from Charles Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York*; and to the S.P.C.K. for permission to quote a long extract from Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill (eds.), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*.

1 The incident occurred at Christ's College and it is not, so far as I can determine, apocryphal. Temple once claimed, after a strenuous hill climb, that he was glad to think he did not believe in the resurrection of the flesh (Iremonger, *Temple*, p. 508). As Ronald Knox put it in his famous and often quoted satire, "Absolute and Abitofhell",

> A man so broad, to some he seem'd to be
> Not one, but all Mankind in Effigy

(See R. A. Knox, *Essays in Satire* (1928), pp. 81-8; the description is quoted in Iremonger, *Temple*, pp. 158-9, and in Bell's *Memoir*, p. 16.)

2 Dr Bell's *Memoir* was printed in A. E. Baker, *William Temple and His Message* (Pelican Book, 1946), and is now difficult to obtain. The text of Canon Baker's useful compendium of Temple's teaching was later reissued as *William Temple's Teaching* (London, N.D.), but the memoir was not then reprinted, chiefly because Bell, with characteristic modesty, regarded it merely as a thing of temporary appeal and expected it to be superseded completely by Iremonger's biography. The memoir is cited as Bell, *Memoir*. The other early memoir, *William Temple: An Estimate and an Appreciation*, is exceedingly difficult to obtain.

[3] F. A. Iremonger, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury* (O.U.P., 1948). Dr Iremonger has given his own particular cast to the impression which has been preserved of William Temple. Apart from the biography, he wrote a short life for the *Dictionary of National Biography, 1941-50* (ed. L. G. Wickham-Legg and E. T. Williams, O.U.P., 1959), which is, in effect, a digest of his book. It stands in sharp contrast to the short life of Archbishop Lang contributed to the same volume of the *D.N.B.*, by Dr A. C. Don. It was generally thought that Don would be Lang's official biographer, and his short life, although it reflects much of Lockhart's biography of Lang, has an individual point of view. The curious thing is that Dr Don's account conveys an impression of Lang as a shallow figure and is much less sympathetic to the archbishop than Lockhart's book. It would be interesting to know exactly how much the opinions of writers quoted in the text have been influenced by Iremonger's view of Temple.

[4] R. Lloyd, *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1950), vol. ii, pp. 13, 100.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 15.

[6] Quoted in Charles Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York* (London, 1959), p. 294.

[7] Ibid., p. 287. The echo of Garbett's language is an indication of the way in which the writer has been influenced by the subject of his biography. As Canon Smyth puts it, this claim about Temple could, of course, mean no more than that the Church has ceased to attract men of Temple's quality.

[8] One frequently hears the claim "William Temple was a saint". "Cult" seems not too strong a word to use for a popular reaction which, in a different climate of opinion (or in an earlier age in this country) might have produced a movement for formal canonization.

[9] Charles Smyth, op. cit., p. 286.

[10] G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury* (O.U.P., 3rd ed. 1952, vol. i, p. 284.

[11] In later life Temple tried to decide which of the Archbishops of Canterbury deserved the name of prophet. His list included "before he became Archbishop my father" (Iremonger, *Temple*, p. 608).

[12] These interviews were reprinted in F. A. Iremonger, *Men and Movements in the Church* (London, 1928); for Temple, see pp. 23-35.

[13] Iremonger, *Temple*, p. 62.

[14] One of the few quotations which Iremonger chose to use both in his biography and in the *D.N.B.* was taken from a letter written by Temple to his brother in his first term at Repton: "I doubt whether headmastering is really my line". (Iremonger, *Temple*, p. 128; *D.N.B.*, art. cit.) Temple was hard put to justify his last minute change of mind to his friends (Iremonger, *Temple*, pp. 131-4).

[15] Cf. a letter quoted by Bell, *Memoir*, p. 15.

[16] Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 143, 147.

[17] Bell, *Memoir*, p. 32. The *Readings* appeared in two series in 1939 and 1940.

[18] In 1912 he was offered St Margaret's, Westminster, with a canonry, then being vacated by Henson, but it was discovered that Temple had not been in priest's orders for the necessary six years and the proposal was dropped. In 1916 he was offered a canonry with the incumbency of St John's, Westminster, which he refused as a task outside his powers and experience. In 1919 he succeeded Pearce as a canon at Westminster (Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 150, 261, 263).

[19] Bell notes the fact, but does not elaborate upon it. (*Memoir*, p. 15); Iremonger has dealt with it in detail.

[20] His letter raising these points has not survived (so far as is known), and our knowledge of its contents rests upon the sections of it quoted in Paget's reply. (See, Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 108 et seq.)

[21] Iremonger, op. cit., p. 109. Paget's letter seems to express the real reasons for his refusal, and there are no obvious grounds, other than those stated, which might have contributed to his decision. It is a measure of Temple's difficulties that he could not satisfy this scholarly Tractarian bishop in 1906.

[22] Iremonger, op. cit., p. 115. The italics are Davidson's. The archbishop was satisfied with Temple's position, but he had to admit: "I do not say that he expresses himself respecting either truth with the distinctness (at least as to detail) which has been usual in Orthodox Theology. But I can see no adequate reason why he should not now be ordained." (ibid., p. 116.)

[23] Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 117-9.

[24] Iremonger, op. cit., p. 120. In the archbishop's first letter, the statement had, similarly, been dismissed as "very crude, curt and undergraduate".

[25] Iremonger, op. cit., p. 106. Temple's letter was written during his stay at Jena during the last three months of 1905; it was dated 17 Nov. but has no year-date.

[26] Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 156-7. On the first point the contributors were prepared to say that they did not consider it to be a foundation on which to build. On the second they could not give a common consent to the essay which one of their number, B. H. Streeter, had contributed. The volume, edited by Streeter, *Foundations—A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought*, was published in 1912.

[27] R. A. Knox, *Some Loose Stones* (1913). Knox was persuaded to write this reply by Stuckey Coles, Principal of Pusey House, and the Rev. J. C. Howells, vicar of St Mary's, Graham Street (E. Waugh, *The Life of Ronald Knox*, 1959, p. 113).

[28] Iremonger, op. cit., p. 163.

[29] Cf. G. K. A. Bell, *Randall Davidson*, vol. i, pp. 671-89. A. Goodwin has written a sympathetic account of Thompson's career in an obituary for the British Academy (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XLIII, see especially, pp. 277-84). For Henson see Bell, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 851-82, and H. H. Henson, *A Retrospect of an Unimportant Life*, vol. i, chapter VI, pp. 214-70. I have discussed Henson's position and the consequences which he was called upon to face on his election to Hereford in a paper on his life, "Herbert Hensley Henson 1863-1947", in *The Durham University Journal*, vol. XXI, no. 2 (1960).

[30] Quoted by the former editor of the *Church Times*, Sidney Dark, in *The People's Archbishop* (London, 1942), a tendentious and not informative account of the life of the then newly-appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. For a similar point of view cf., Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England in the Twentieth Century*, vol. ii, p. 13. Temple's colleagues held the same view of his importance for the movement as a whole.

[31] Dr Bell rightly attributes the responsibility for securing the Enabling Act to Davidson, but he acknowledges the part played by "the enthusiasm of the younger men—even it may be the pressure upon the archbishop and the driving force which they applied" as a major contribution towards its achievement. (See especially, Bell, *Davidson*, pp. 962-80; and Bell, *Memoir*, p. 17.) It is, perhaps, worth noting that he gives the impression that Temple

had little influence with Randall Davidson and not much intimacy with him throughout these years.

32 Quoted in full, Iremonger, op. cit., p. 241.

33 Iremonger, op. cit., p. 240. On this point Iremonger had made up his mind at an early date. He wrote of the event in strong terms as the turning point of Temple's life in the "interview" with Temple as Bishop of Manchester (*Men and Movements in the Church*, p. 24). Dr Bell considered that the "actual manner of leaving [St. James'] was critical for the whole of Temple's later work for the Church" (Bell, *Memoir*, p. 17).

34 Iremonger, op. cit., p. 499.

35 A. Mansbridge, *Fellow Men: a Gallery of England 1876-1946* (London), 1948), p. 49.

36 For his assurance see especially, Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 500-1.

37 Iremonger, op. cit., p. 284.

38 Iremonger, op. cit., p. 285.

39 Quoted in C. Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York*, p. 275.

40 Iremonger, op. cit., p. 314.

41 Quoted by Bishop Cockin in his foreword to the 1956 reprint of W. Temple, *Christianity and the Social Order* (Pelican Book), p. 7.

42 With the exception of Dr Bell it has not been easy for those who knew him to judge Temple's qualities as a diocesan. There is a noticeable tendency to take refuge in the phrase "Father-in-God" as an explanation rather than a synonym. Canon A. E. Baker essayed it in a short note on "Dr Temple as Diocesan", published as an appendix to S. Dark's *The People's Archbishop*, while Temple was still alive. Dr Iremonger returns to the theme in his consideration of Temple as a diocesan at Manchester, York, and Canterbury. The opening sentence of Canon Baker's essay ran, "How can it be expected, it may be asked, that Dr Temple has had any time to be a good Diocesan bishop?" It is not easy to define this "good Diocesan bishop", but the answer clearly involves some assessment of (a) his spiritual qualities, (b) his administrative abilities, and (c) his achievements. The case for Temple as a diocesan rests on positive claims which may be made under the first and third headings and on reservations, if not on outright criticisms, under the second heading. A study of how a modern diocesan administration has worked under an able and energetic bishop would be valuable; the machinery can be understood easily, but the way in which it is used by bishops of different abilities and temperaments is by no means so easily reconstructed. I have suggested elsewhere that Henson's Journal's might be a rich source of material for such a study (*Durham University Journal*, vol. XXI, no. 2). With Henson we should see the effects of a firm and determined, but scrupulously legalistic, governor on the affairs of a diocese; with Temple, the effects of a powerful personality, at home in big meetings and with big decisions, but limited in his grasp of administrative detail. It is, of course, much easier to see how a diocese is run when it is in the hands of a firm disciplinarian like Knox of Manchester or like Cyril Garbett. Dr Bell, unlike other writers, gives first place to Temple's diocesan responsibilities and relegates his "other avocations" to the second place (Bell, *Memoir*, p. 23).

43 Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 190-1.

44 Iremonger, op. cit., p. 617. Dr Iremonger quotes another instance which occurred on D Day in 1944, when the king broadcast to the nation and, at short notice, a service was arranged to be broadcast immediately afterwards. Temple was asked to give an address; he had no spare time on that day in

which to prepare his sermon; it was already filled with engagements. His address was put together at the last minute partly from a recording which he had already made for another broadcast, partly from sentences which he wrote during the singing of the hymns during the service. While one hymn was sung he also wrote a special prayer to be used during the service (ibid., p. 577).

45 Iremonger., op. cit., p. 574.

46 This gift was not always welcomed by his contemporaries. Canon Smyth quotes an anonymous comment on it: "I am always terrified that some day William will evolve a formula of agreement that will split the Church of England from top to bottom." (C. Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York*, p. 287.)

47 Iremonger, op. cit., pp. 547-8. When a moral principle was at stake he could be blunt, as he was to a cleric who had advocated reprisals during the second world war (ibid., p. 546).

48 This attitude towards death remained characteristic of Temple and was shared by his wife. Canon Smyth has recorded an incident which occurred after Temple's death, when the archbishop's ashes were being interred at Canterbury. Mrs Temple noticed that the urn was not straight in the grave and an undertaker made an attempt to straighten it. Having climbed into the grave he could not get out again and Mrs Temple and her secretary had to hold him until help came. Her comment on the incident was, "How amused William would have been." (C. Smyth, *Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York*, p. 296.)

49 Iremonger, op. cit., p. 546.

50 A. Mansbridge, *Fellow Men*, p. 49.

51 Foreword to 1956 edition of W. Temple, *Christianity and the Social Order*, p. 7.

52 Bell, *Memoir*, p. 23.

53 Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill (editors), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948* (London, 1954), p. 713.

REVIEWS

THE MONASTERIES

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ENGLAND. VOL. III. THE TUDOR AGE. By DOM DAVID KNOWLES. Cambridge University Press. 55s.

WITH THIS third volume Professor Knowles has completed his magisterial survey of the religious orders in England. His work is convincing in scholarship and admirable in style. The history of Tudor monasticism has been the subject of much embittered controversy, but this will surely remain as the standard authority for many years. Few will cavil at a certain sentimental looking back over the long story, and an occasional descent into piety.

A careful examination of early sixteenth-century visitation records and contemporary correspondence reveals a monastic state which was not grossly scandalous, but which had become a wealthy vested interest. In most of the orders successive relaxations of the rule had reached the point where an easygoing collegiate existence had replaced any but the most exceptional attempts at fervour. Only the recently introduced Observants, and the enclosed order of Bridgettines were capable of a life of rigour. Wolsey's attempt in 1522 to revive discipline in the black monk houses was met by the explicit plea that such action would result in a dearth of recruits or, at worst, apostasy and rebellion. Examples of monastic learning, such as that of Abbot Kidderminster of Winchcombe, prove on closer examination to be exceptional and antiquated in character. A more typical man of his age was surely Prior More of Worcester who enjoyed the life of an ecclesiastical country squire, with a substantial retinue, costly purchases, and an occasional short visit to his family of monks. Professor Knowles may well be right when he remarks on Erasmus's untraditional turn of mind, but he surely underestimates the fact that the force of the Erasmian polemic lay in the total lack of contribution which monasticism, in return for its great revenues, made to the needs of contemporary society in popular devotion, scholarship, or education. It may be, in addition, that Professor A. G. Dickens' recent book, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558*, modifies Professor Knowles's claim for popular support and sympathy for monasticism as such.

One of the most valuable parts of the book is its examination of the financial and economic condition of the houses through a critical comparison of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* with the visitation records of 1535-6 and what remains of monastic accounts. The result is to show that, with the exception of the small houses of Austin canons, most houses were solvent and even prosperous. The debts so often cited prove to be book-keeping devices or long-term deposits. Under the pressure of a building abbot very substantial economies could be made

by most of the greater houses. Similarly Dom David's careful scholarship demonstrates the inaccuracy of the grosser charges of sexual immorality made against the religious by Cromwell's visitors. It is most interesting that a case is made out for an actual increase in monastic recruitment in the early sixteenth century.

It is clear that the monasteries were not attacked as immoral or bankrupt, but because they were irrelevant to the outlook of mid-Tudor society. The new age was one of lay piety, theological divergence, and state-building, not of time-honoured observance. A very few were stouthearted in defence of an ideology. Of those who did suffer, most, perhaps, were caught up in the grip of circumstance rather than definite martyrs to a cause. Nearly all landowners joined in the rush for the spoils, and the significant results were to strengthen and consolidate an existing governing, landed class, and to widen the gap between proprietor and peasant. Within fifteen years Queen Mary could scarcely scrape together sufficient religious from a variety of orders to stock her new foundations at Westminster, and these elderly survivors were quite notably lax.

G. V. Bennett

ORTHODOXY AND ANGLICANISM

The Validity of the Anglican Orders. By Jerome Cotsonis. Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School Press. N.p.

In this small but useful work Dr Cotsonis tries to cast light upon the apparently baffling inconsistency of the attitude of the Eastern Orthodox Church towards the sacraments of other bodies in general and the ordinations of the Anglican Churches in particular. He begins by distinguishing between two questions: (1) whether Anglican clergy need to be re-ordained if they join the Orthodox Church, and (2) whether their ordination and the sacraments which they celebrate are recognized as valid if they remain Anglicans; and he argues that the "recognition" of Anglican orders by various autocephalous Eastern churches is almost uniformly concerned with the former of these questions.

By a formidable array of quotations from canons of Councils he shows that "according to the canonical 'strictness' of the Orthodox Church, not only the common liturgy and performance of sacred services, but even a mere entering into heterodox churches for the sake of prayer is forbidden". He admits that "while there can be no question of an express recognition, either 'by exactness' or 'by economy', on the part of the Orthodox Church of the validity of the Orders of all the heterodox generally and especially of the Anglican, nevertheless, through certain acts of some of the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches, a sort of indirect and tacit recognition has been admitted chiefly in

respect of the Anglican Orders." However, he repeats, "this recognition . . . cannot be supported by the Canon Law of the Orthodox Church either 'by exactness' or 'by economy'. It is, therefore, impossible that this tacit recognition of the Anglican orders may be considered canonical."

The discussion so far does not seem either very helpful or very illuminating and the Western reader will, I think, find himself reflecting that the common Western distinction between validity and regularity would clarify the matter a good deal more than does the Eastern distinction between exactness (*kat' akribeian*) and economy (*kat' oikonomian*). However, Professor Cotsonis makes the useful suggestion that this latter distinction has commonly been misunderstood. "The identification of the terms 'exactness' with strictness and 'economy' with leniency", he tells us, "has no canonical basis . . . . According to the Canon Law of the Orthodox Church, what has been decreed by the Ecumenical Councils constitutes the 'exactness' generally accepted throughout Orthodoxy. Along with the 'exactness' generally accepted throughout Orthodoxy, there is what is 'by exactness' decided in each or some of the Autocephalous Churches on questions on which there is no universally established 'exactness'; and any deviation from what is by particular 'exactness' accepted constitutes a particular 'economy'." He goes on to argue that since the Roman, Protestant, and Anglican heterodoxies appeared after the period of the Ecumenical Councils, the relevant "exactness" in these cases can only be discerned in the actions taken by the various autocephalous churches. Thus, "each particular Orthodox Church has the right to decide upon the validity of the Orders of Anglicans joining the Orthodox Church." However, on a later page Dr Cotsonis somewhat inconsistently asserts that such a decision can only be made by "economy", since the bodies concerned were inevitably not mentioned in the canons of the early councils.

As regards the recent pronouncements of Orthodox Churches about Anglican orders Dr Cotsonis maintains convincingly that they refer either to the reception into Orthodoxy of individual Anglican clerics or else to a future embracement of Orthodoxy by an Anglican Church as such. There is, he says, no recognition of the sacraments or orders of the Anglican Churches as they are now. Any such recognition would presuppose a full acceptance of Orthodoxy by Anglicanism; before such acceptance there can be no recognition of Anglican orders as valid *per se*.

It will be seen that Dr Cotsonis, for all his personal friendliness, is far less ready to make concessions to Anglicanism than are some of his fellow-Orthodox; nevertheless he appears to have Orthodox theology and canon law on his side. There are at least two lessons that Anglicans can learn from him in their approach to the problem of Christian unity. One is that the frequent attempt to justify any violation of ecclesiastical order by a vague invocation of "the Orthodox principle of 'economy' " is thoroughly untenable; the other is that the basing of Christian unity upon the notion of a necessary minimum of dogmatic agreement, in-

stead of upon a full acceptance of Catholic orthodoxy in all its richness, would be rejected with horror by the Orthodox Church.

E. L. MASCALL

OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS

MYTH AND REALITY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. By B. S. CHILDS. S.C.M. 9s. 6d.

THE Assistant Professor of Old Testament at Yale Divinity School has set himself the task of re-examining the relationship between myth and reality in the Old Testament. Myth, he declares, is neither the sum-total of the supernatural nor the "story of the gods" in literary forms but rather a phenomenon closely related with man's understanding of reality. The myth in the cult maintains the existing world-order, but it comes into conflict with reality when this world-order can no longer accommodate what was once held to be true. In order to illustrate this conflict the author selects some well-known passages and subjects them to a detailed discussion. This survey of work done on Gen. 1. 1-2; 3. 1-5; 6. 1-4; Ex. 4. 24-6; Isa. 11. 6-9; 14. 12-21 (pp. 30-71) constitutes the core of the book and is very valuable (but his omission of Hooke's contribution here is a pity). After dealing with the peculiarities of the text and citing different authorities and interpretations Dr Childs develops his own thesis. Briefly, these myths are woven into the narrative by way of demythologization. Thus he displays "a process of assimilation in which the Old Testament understanding slowly destroyed its rival" (p. 38). Why was myth retained at all since it still remains a disturbing factor? Because it still serves to witness to a particular aspect of reality. Thus creation is seen to contrast, not with nothingness, but with chaos. The story of the serpent brings out a "calculated tension" inherent in the human situation. The "giants", offspring of the "sons of God", serve again as a "negative illustration", i.e., of a reality now condemned. Circumcision in infancy instead of at puberty is buttressed by the myth of Yahweh the demon, which in the narrative about Moses and Zipporah is transformed into saga. Ultimately myth survives only as poetry to give the appropriate background to eschatology.

Dr Childs then proceeds to harness the results of his study to show how the Old Testament develops its own new categories of reality. They were not abstract, but instead of looking to the past, they looked to the future. Form and content together envisaged the new Israel as the new reality (therefore "the Old Testament is theologically meaningless apart from the New Testament"). My only criticism of this interesting monograph is that it speaks too confidently of the Old Testament as if it represented an unbroken front of outlook. Did any of its writers tackle myth quite so deliberately? Were they sufficiently academic even to think in terms of myth and reality?

ULRICH SIMON

FOLLOWING CHRIST

LORDSHIP AND DISCIPLESHIP. By EDUARD SCHWEIZER. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

THIS BOOK, it must be said, suffers from an inelegant translation and the anonymity of the translator speaks for itself. This is a pity, for the author's theme—the place of humiliation and exaltation in the New Testament—deserves both discussion and attention. The reader must therefore persevere to get at the central argument.

Schweizer first deals with the realistic and concrete concept of following Christ: to follow Jesus is the decisive act, the beginning of something new, the path of corporate rejection and ultimate glory. Only the disciple knows the "Messianic secret" and expects complete salvation. Judaism had prepared the way which encompasses the suffering and the exaltation of righteous Israel, though it distinguishes sharply between the Righteous One who fulfills this rôle and the Messiah whose Lordship is revealed at the end of time. Jesus regarded himself as, and the Church proclaimed him to be, the unique Righteous One. He is Israel, the Vine whose branches reflect his humiliation and glory. Schweizer now proceeds to examine the relevant passages in the New Testament concerning the Servant of the Lord. On this controversial subject he inclines to the belief that Servant is not a pre-Christian title of the Messiah. In opposing Jeremias, Schweizer presents an argument which I find unconvincing and also unnecessarily complex, if not confused. Nevertheless, it leads to the tantalizing problem how the exalted Christ—the Lord—stands in relationship to the death of Jesus. Once again Phil. 2. 6-11 calls for careful exegesis, but it cannot be said that Schweizer shows the insight of Lohmeyer, whom he quotes and dismisses. When he comes to survey the material in Hebrews one feels that he is sadly out of *rapport* with the writer's genius. A sentence, such as "The analogy of the earthly high priest who only after making a sacrifice dares to pass through the veil of the temple to appear before God, makes it possible for the author to fit in the idea of Jesus' self-sacrifice on the cross which he regards as essential" (p. 74) is typical not only for clumsy writing but clumsy theology. It is not surprising that when the author turns to apply his findings to a description of discipleship after Easter the picture becomes so blurred as to be almost unintelligible.

This criticism should not obscure the richness of the author's scholarship which may stimulate not a few to acquire a great wealth of biblical data. But, clearly, the method, which makes the articles in the Kittel *Wörterbuch* so eminently useful, does not give us a good book.

ULRICH SIMON

THE COLLECTIVE UNCONSCIOUS

SOUL AND PSYCHE. By VICTOR WHITE, O.P. Collins and Harvill. 21s.

IT IS a common conviction that the "analytical psychology" of Jung gives more support to the beliefs and practices of religion than does the "psychoanalysis" of Freud. When Jung broke away from his master it was because he was convinced that Freud did not attach enough importance to certain mental phenomena of a symbolic or mythological character. Freud believed that the origins of psychoneuroses and character formation lay in the historic development of the individual, particularly the years of infancy. Jung agreed that the historic factor was important, but behind it, he came to believe, was something of far greater importance—the "collective unconscious", a basic sub-stratum to every human mind, shared in by all, timeless in character. The collective unconscious cannot be directly observed; it can only be inferred from the comparison of mental phenomena drawn from the whole range of human life, from the most primitive to the most civilized cultures, from the sane or the insane.

The great bulk of Jung's voluminous writings is devoted to the exploration of the collective unconscious and it has led him to explore deeply the inexhaustible field of symbol and myth. Inevitably he has had much to say about religion in all its forms. It is here that he traces most clearly the working of the collective unconscious by means of what he calles "archetypes". It is not easy to define just what he means by archetypes. They are the modes by which the collective unconscious enters into the individual mind, bringing its material to be absorbed by the latter and also providing forms to order and arrange individual experiences. Their power lies in imagery and symbolism rather than in ratiocination and they are immensely powerful. The individual has to come to terms with them, to find ways of accepting them into his life, or the consequences will be disastrously disintegrating. They drive towards a religious form of life. Thus Jung says that none of his patients in the second half of life, that is, above thirty-five years of age, was cured unless he was enabled to find a religion. Below that age it is sufficient to clear up the tangles of the mind by analysis and the inner forces will move unassisted towards religion.

Is religion then purely a natural activity of man, a "psychological" function, not supernatural at all? Perhaps the "psyche" with which psychologists are concerned is something different from the "soul" of the theologians. Some have found refuge in this distinction. Not so Father Victor White. He firmly insists that psychologists and the theologians are dealing with the same thing, call it "psyche" or "soul", in spite of their different approaches to it. Undoubtedly he is right to take this courageous stand. But it leaves the problem of reconciling religion and psychology.

Father White has two masters, Aquinas and Jung, and he is an outstandingly brilliant disciple of both these great men. It is to be expected

therefore that his essay in reconciliation, or bridge-building, should be a notable contribution to thought in this field. One regrets that he has deemed it necessary to lean so heavily on his masters, for he himself shows a sureness and clarity of thought and judgement which brings illumination to every page. The defects of the argument, which is far too involved to summarize here, do not come from him but lie in the assumption that the collective unconscious is in some sense absolute and that the archetypes therefore mediate God. If they do, they need reconciliation not only with the dogmas, symbols, and rituals of religion, which Father White provides, but also with the determination of history. This latter needs to be examined with equal thoroughness. But given the assumption that traditional orthodoxy on the one hand, and Jung's psychology on the other, are generally trustworthy guides this is an outstanding book. It should, however, be read in conjunction with another striking work on the same subject, *Jung and St Paul* by David Cox, whose religious standpoint is markedly different.

R. S. Lee

VILLAGE HISTORY

Round About the Little Steeple. By Ida Gandy. Allen and Unwin. 18s.

In this book, Ida Gandy tells the story of the Wiltshire church and village of Bishops Canning, where she spent her childhood. Her narrative is centred round two high-lights in the parish's long history: the first in 1613, when the vicar George Ferebe, whom Aubrey describes as "an ingenius man and an excellent musician", entertained Queen Anne, wife of James I; the second some five years later, when the King himself witnessed a game of village football.

The composition of this book has obviously given immense pleasure to its author. Her descriptions of local personalities, buildings, and antiquities are full of skill and colour; and she enlivens her story with a host of anecdotes. Furthermore, the notes at the end of each chapter are a revelation of her industry in the interests of historical truth.

For all this, it cannot be said that the book is entirely successful. Mrs Gandy's very enthusiasm so carries her away, that the reader frequently finds himself side-tracked from the main narrative; while the numerous incursions into centuries other than the seventeenth may lead him to question whether the sub-heading on the title page is strictly accurate.

Gordon Huelin

PLUSCARDEN PRIORY

A Monastery in Moray. By Peter F. Anson. S.P.C.K. 30s.

"A microcosm of the history of Scotland" is what Mr Anson calls his story of Pluscarden Priory, a monastery situated some six miles to the south-west of Elgin, in the county of Moray. He describes the fortunes of the priory from the days when a colony of monks of the Order of Val des Choux settled there in 1230 or 1231, to the present time when, after a lapse of three centuries, the Divine Office is again to be heard within its walls, recited now by Benedictines of Prinknash Abbey, who took it over in 1945.

It is a record of past changes and decay—from the lofty ideals of those first inhabitants, who annually from Holy Cross Day until Easter had to content themselves with bread, water, and one cooked dish a day, to the sixteenth century monk's conception of a monastery as an exclusive "Country Club". It tells of the present revival, and of future hopes that here will, one day, be a re-creation of the medieval world: hopes which can never be entirely fulfilled since, to quote Mr Anson, "when one compares the typewritten Disposition of 1945, worded in Legal English in the terminology of Scots Law, with the exquisitely transcribed Latin Charters of 1230 and 1233, one realizes how wide and deep is the gulf that separates the thirteenth from the twentieth century".

Monastic chronicles could, in the hands of a writer less able than Mr Anson, be historically useful but otherwise dull. *A Monastery in Moray* achieves the former distinction, whilst escaping the latter fault. It is thus a welcome addition to those library shelves dealing with the Religious Orders, to which its author has already contributed a number of works.

Gordon Huelin

THE DEAN OF THE THISTLE

The Glimmering Landscape. By Charles L. Warr. Hodder and Stoughton. 25s.

The author of this book is a man of wide acquaintance with people of all walks of life. He has the gift of vivid description and of shrewd summing up of the personal characteristics of those whom he has met. A large part of it consists of a series of little biographies of people whose names are well known, at least in the Scottish scene. They are admirably done and one seems to live with each one of them. For Scottish people, Dr Warr's book will be attractive from the point of view of knowing more about people of whom many know a little. These include members of the Royal Family with whom he has had close contacts arising both from his upbringing at Rosneath in the days of Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, and from his later contacts with

them as Dean of The Thistle and Chapel Royal of Scotland and as Minister of the High Kirk of St Giles. For English readers, this book will convey to them the authentic atmosphere of Scotland in general and of Edinburgh in particular. Although the author is interested in and has ripe experience of Scottish affairs in general, this is the book of a churchman to whom the established Presbyterian Church of Scotland is dear. He loves his Church sufficiently to criticize it. For example, he comments shrewdly on the practical abandonment of the doctrine of parity of ministers by the development of the office of Moderator of the General Assembly.

To readers of *C.Q.R.* the author's views of the ecclesiastical situation in Scotland, and particularly with regard to Anglican-Presbyterian relations will be of interest. In the last section, "Towards Reunion", he has things to say of which Anglicans must take note. Dr Warr is deeply concerned for the unity of the Church and especially for unity between the Anglican and Presbyterian churches. He records his opinion that the Lambeth Conference 1958 "had not been helpful" in this matter in its insistence upon an episcopally ordained minister of the Eucharist. He is convinced that the Church of Scotland and the Scottish Episcopal Church, among the separated churches, are the two "most capable of understanding each other", and points out that they stem from the same source and share a large measure of post-Reformation history.

✠ KENNETH EDENBURGEN:

THE PROPHETS FOR THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

PROPHETS OF THE KING. By H. F. MATTHEWS. Epworth Press. Class-book and teacher's book, 7s. 6d., 8s. 6d.

THESE volumes together form Book 2 in a new series devoted to Bible study for Secondary schools, in which the theme of God's Kingdom is developed, from the days of Abraham to the Messianic Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Book 2 deals with the teaching, the task, and the faith of the principal prophets of the Old Testament.

The author is the Deputy Principal of a Training College and combines a thorough knowledge of modern biblical scholarship with first-rate technique. Moreover, he realizes, and states categorically, that the aims of religious education must be the creation of a personal religious faith.

The work provides no cramming of knowledge for either teacher or child. It is a guide or stimulant which is intended to excite interest in, and to promote further research upon, the various aspects of the theme which is being developed. The excellence of the technique is clearly shown in the closing sections of each chapter of the class-book, in which are set out passages for Bible reading, selections for memory

work, subjects for class discussions, and suggestions for class activities. All or any of these means are intended to further the interest originally aroused through the teacher's presentation of the lesson.

FRANK A. F. POULDEN

HERO-WORSHIP

ALBERT SCHWEIZER: A STUDY OF HIS PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE. By GABRIEL LANGFELDT. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

SCHWEIZER probably suffers more from his admirers than his detractors. Of his moral and intellectual stature there can be no question. But his reputation is scarcely enhanced by a book such as this, written by a Norwegian psychiatrist. The best that can be said for it is that it gives a fair statement of Schweizer's views on ethics and religion, and may be recommended on this ground to those who have no time to wade through *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* or *Civilization and Ethics*.

In other respects there is little to be said in favour of Professor Langfeldt's little book. Turgid, repetitive, uncritical to the point of adulation, he betrays a complete misunderstanding of the dogmatic Christianity which he joins his subject in rejecting. ". . . if by Christian is meant a person who is filled with the spirit of loving kindness, then he [Schweizer] is a better Christian than most who pride themselves on being Christians" (p. 10). ". . . I personally have more 'faith' in Schweizer, the researcher, than in theologians who are tied by a creed" (p. 70). It is difficult to take seriously a discussion which moves on such a schoolboy level as this.

Would it be unfair to say that German-speaking theologians have a tendency to be hypnotized by words? For all his much-vaunted intellectual honesty, polysyllables like *Weltanschauung* and *Lebensbejahung* seem to go to Schweizer's head. It is true, of course, that the clergy are often indifferent exponents of the faith. Doubtless Schweizer's father did "want to make him see that where faith was concerned, reason must be silent" (p. 30). Doubtless the Norwegian pastors of to-day are often guilty of "destroying people's mood" (of what? religious fervour?) "by worthless expositions of dogma and continual reminders of eternal damnation" (p. 59). But could not Schweizer or Langfeldt have taken the trouble to discover the true picture of Christian teaching, instead of its caricature? Had they done so, they would have seen that Schweizer's great principle of Reverence for Life is a necessary corollary of the Christian doctrine of Creation; that "ethical mysticism" is something about which St Augustine and Charles Williams (to name only two) have a great deal to say; and that the "mysterious primal force", which Schweizer confesses, does not become an abstraction if it is believed to be transcendent as well as immanent.

The Kingdom of God, conceived even in the most this-worldly way, is not served by using the word "dogma" as a term of abuse.

ROBIN ANSTEY

PRIMATE OF AUSTRALIA

ARCHBISHOP MOWLL. By MARCUS L. LOANE. Hodder and Stoughton. 21s.

CALLED upon to exercise a ministry in four countries, few men can have had such a far-reaching influence as the late Primate of Australia, Dr Howard K. Mowll. Having left Cambridge and his student days at King's College, he gave himself in unstinted, undaunted devotion to the peoples of Western China, later Canada, and finally Australia. It is obviously due to this fact that there has not been in England a fuller awareness of his outstanding character and achievements, indeed of his place among the truly great leaders of the evangelical tradition.

Bishop Loane, in his biography of 262 pages, has given a masterly and attractive unfolding of the character and work of the Archbishop. Indeed in a comprehensive survey of his administration, into which, in great detail, varied experience is aptly and intriguingly woven, he has caused a man of unusual stature to step almost into the consciousness of the reader: a saint, a man whose imagination sweeps the horizon of possibility and whose undaunted and creative spirit can translate such possibility into actuality, but more, a man whose personal love and memory for people and their affairs can give him access into hearts which might, perhaps, otherwise have been closed to an admittedly overawing presence.

At Cambridge, though but a young man, his wise leadership enabled him to lead the Christian Union, of which he was President for five terms, through very disturbed and conflicting lines of thought, indirectly giving rise to the now world-wide Inter-Varsity Fellowship.

Called to Wycliffe College, Toronto, he found the Canadian type of student life so different from that to which he had been used that for a few years it would seem both student and tutor were rather estranged, but if at first it was felt that his bearing was rather too dignified and he himself a little unresponsive, it was only a question of time before his obvious sincerity and undoubted love were able to transform the situation. Bishop Loane shows how his very desire to maintain such friendship, in following up the former students in their scattered ministry all over a great Dominion, made him perhaps among the greatest travellers on the Anglican bench. Nor was this all, his evangelistic fervour and gifts of organization captured a loyalty which, if well-earned, was very precious to him.

In China his vision was almost prophetic. As though foreseeing conditions soon to follow, he laboured successfully for the division of the diocese of Western China, to which he went as assistant bishop, into

two separate dioceses, and that with a view to the consecration of Chinese diocesans. It must have been a great joy to him that before leaving that country in its then disturbed state, he found his hopes had been realized.

While in China he met and married Miss Martin, the daughter of C.I.M. missionaries, herself a missionary. This was to mean very much to him and to his later work in Australia, since he was of a leaning disposition and he found in his wife one who was more than able to share with him the burden of the many testing times through which he was called to pass.

His appointment as Bishop of Sydney was not wholly popular, nor was his administration without times of considerable opposition, since it was thought to be too exclusively of one colour, but the fact that after many years of unstinted, loving, spiritual service 150,000 people lined the streets at his funeral and that the world-evangelist, Billy Graham, said he had never been in a town more obviously dominated by the influence of one man, indicates that here again the worth and ability of his character had won through.

If perhaps small in small things, he was one of the greatest, truly great, in great things. If he was a little lacking in understanding of how much his fellow-workers were called upon to do (so that he could even call his archdeacons to a meeting at 2 a.m. in the morning and keep them there till 5!), this was because he judged them by his own amazing capacity to absorb work to a degree that most thought quite impossible. If possibly apt to be a little inadequate in his treatment of the lesser matters of life, he was quite undaunted in the great issues of administration.

The author, in the last but one chapter in which he deals with the Archbishop's character and ministry, is very fair in his appraisal both of the lesser and greater factors in the Primate's life and work, but leaves the reader in little doubt that they are the concomitants of a great man, a saint, a creative administrator, and a great friend, and one rightly judged to be among those evangelical giants for whom the whole of the Anglican community may well be thankful.

This is indeed a great book written about a great man and therefore to be read with profit and thankfulness.

COLIN C. KERR

A FRENCH PROTESTANT

PREDESTINATION AND OTHER PAPERS. By PIERRE MAURY. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

"FRENCH Protestantism", Dr Robert Mackie writes in an attractive introductory memoir, "makes little impact upon British Christianity"—and he goes on to ask why this is so. He concludes that language is a major factor with the fault lying on both sides. Hence such a man as Pierre Maury, who really tried to break through the language barrier

and to play a full part in the ecumenical movement, is an important figure who deserves to be better known. He died early in 1956 but this book of addresses and sermons has now been published to give a wider circle than those who knew him personally some idea of the quality of his mind and outlook.

Dr Mackie admits that he was a theologian whose medium was a personal encounter rather than published writings and I am bound to say that I have derived more real interest from the forewords by Dr Mackie himself and by Karl Barth than from the actual words of Pierre Maury now committed to print. Perhaps those who knew him will feel compellingly the impact of his addresses. To me they are competent and well-ordered meditations upon great biblical themes—Election, The Blood of Christ, Christmas, Time and Eternity—but it is not easy to discover in them any very distinctive theological contribution. In his treatment of Election Maury refuses to follow Calvin to his logical conclusions but instead keeps close to the biblical emphasis upon election *in Christ* with all that this entails. Perhaps the chief impression which the book gives is that of a dedicated pastor ever eager to present the truth in a form understandable by the serious Christian disciple.

F. W. Dillistone

THE MIND OF JOB

The Message of Job. By James Stewart. Independent Press. 12s. 6d.

This is the posthumous publication of a book written by the late Professor James Stewart when he was Professor of Biblical Studies at the Yorkshire United Independent College. It is neither a commentary nor a systematic exposition of the Book of Job, but an attempt to discover the mind of its author and to reveal his character. Starting from the belief that our chief debt is not so much to what the author did as to what he was, the poem is treated as a record of the spiritual pilgrimage of a Hebrew poet meeting the challenge of innocent suffering with courage, sympathy, faith, and peace. To each of these a chapter is devoted. It is a daring experiment which, in less skilful hands, might easily have resulted in fanciful flights of subjective imagination. But the scholarly discipline of checking speculations by reference to the evidence of the text—a notable feature of this book—succeeds in persuading us that the portrait of the poet that emerges bears the marks of authenticity.

This is a small book of 140 pages, and small books on the Old Testament too often repeat the misleading error of assuming that, prior to Job, the faith of Israel held to an invariable and rigid doctrine of retribution in which desert and fortune are evenly balanced. As Professor Stewart recognized, this is a misreading of the evidence and his book is marked by a sound and careful scholarship. There is an

interesting discussion of the relation of the Prologue and Epilogue to the poem, suggestively illustrated from the device of the two stages employed in Greek drama. The needs of the scholar as preacher are kept in mind throughout, and there is a useful concluding chapter on "The preacher and the book of Job".

This is a refreshing study and its posthumous publication is a graceful memorial to a scholar of deep faith and insight.

A. O. STANDEN

LAYMAN'S COMMENTARY

ISAIAH 1-39. By J. YEOMAN MUCKLE. Epworth Press. 12s. 6d.

THIS BOOK is one of the Epworth Preacher's Commentaries, a series that is being produced by Methodist scholars primarily for lay preachers who are not equipped to use more technical commentaries. They set out to accomplish two tasks: to make plain the original meaning of the Bible; and to indicate its relevance for our own day. Mr Muckle's method is to break up the text into sections, preface each section, with a short introduction, work through the section verse by verse explaining any difficulties that occur; and finally summarize the teaching and contemporary significance of the passage in a homiletic paragraph. All this is well enough done, but the kind of reader for whom the commentary is intended would get very little less information from a good set of B.R.F. notes at much less expense.

J. ROBINSON

BIBLE ATLAS

THE SHORTER ATLAS OF THE BIBLE. By L. H. GROLLENBURG. Nelson. 15s.

FR GROLLENBURG'S *Atlas of the Bible* is already well known to all students of the Bible. This *Shorter Atlas* is not just an abbreviation of the larger book but a new compilation, though designed on the same principles. It comprises maps, photographs, and short articles so that it is far more a Companion than just an Atlas. The maps are clear, the photographs excellent and up to date, the articles give much useful background information and provide a short history of the biblical period. This is in every way an excellent book. Every reader of the Bible will find it useful and interesting and it ought to be used extensively in schools. At its price it is a real bargain.

J. ROBINSON

PRAYING WITH THE PSALTER

How Shall I Study the Psalms? By A. P. Carleton. The Christian Literature Society, Madras, India. 3rs.

The large part which the Psalter plays in the Church's worship creates the problem, perhaps especially for the layman, of the interpretation of the Psalter, since a great deal of it seems antiquated and difficult to understand. Fr Carleton's book will help many to a greater understanding and more beneficial use of it in worship. He has written a devotional commentary for those who would "study the Psalter as the record of man's life with God, and seek to find in it the description of the man of God". He deals with each psalm separately, indicating its meaning for the Church and the individual Christian. Though meant primarily for Indian Christians it will be of very great value to any Christians who desire to pray with the Psalter more intelligently and more effectively.

J. Robinson

KAGAWA

A Seed shall Serve. By Charlie May Simon. Hodder and Stoughton. 5s.

What is the Spirit saying to Japan in our time? What is the Spirit saying to the world through Japan in our time? Those are profoundly important questions and no Christian can lightly refuse to face them. Without doubt no answer can be adequate if it fails to take account of Toyohiko Kagawa.

Illegitimate, victim of a childhood calculated to embitter, brilliantly endowed, Kagawa could have had a life of ease and renown. He chose instead to spend three-quarters of a century in one long steadfast act of self-identification with the outcaste. This man starved with publicans and sinners. His acceptance of Christ and burning idealism issued in a life for which few adjectives are adequate.

He became one with Schweitzer and St Francis of Assisi, with all those whose spirits have refused common limitations. Accordingly his unorthodoxy can terrify the timid. But it can also reassure those who recognize that God is not bound by the definitions which safeguard ordinary mortals.

Charlie May Simon lived and worked with Kagawa. He is a devout admirer of Kagawa, and has crystallized his admiration into 148 very readable pages.

Dewi Morgan

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUL. By OWEN BRANDON. Hodder and Stoughton. 4s.

THE TITLE of this book is a deliberate echo of Sargant's widely read *Battle for the Mind*. The author accepts, implicitly rather than explicitly, the principles of explanation used by Sargant and in their light surveys the phenomena of religious conversion. No more than a survey is intended in the scope allowed by a small book, but it is a useful one in its honesty of approach and its comprehensiveness. Mr Brandon is not lured away into too great emphasis on dramatic conversions but draws attention to many other kinds. Similarly he sees it as based upon and springing out of the whole religious life, both in the interior aspects of the individual's growth and in his experiences within the community of the worshipping Church. We look forward to the fuller volume which is promised for the future.

R. S. LEE

CONGREGATIONALIST PREACHER

FACING LIFE AND DEATH. A Volume in Commemoration of Leslie J. Tizard. Allen and Unwin. 16s.

THE Reverend Leslie Tizard was born in 1902, and died at the age of fifty-five. For the last sixteen years of his life he was Minister of the famous Congregational Church of Carrs Lane, Birmingham; for two years he edited the *Congregational Quarterly*: in 1952 he was Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. More important, he was "possessed with great humility and simple love of God". He was, also, those who heard him tell us, a great preacher.

Now of all forms of self-expression, the sermon is least adapted to reproduction in print. The "great preachers", if we are to judge from the aridity of their written remains, communicate with their public at a subconscious level. Something passes between speaker and hearer—and this something is usually not to be reproduced in black and white. It was Leslie Tizard's conviction that the sermon is to bring the individual—not the crowd as such—face to face with Christ. This he did by sheer solid good sense, rather than emotion. The result is that his sermons read far better than those of more distinguished preachers, just because they *are* addressed to the individual—and the reader of a book is intensely individual.

Further, because they are reasonable rather than emotional, they stand up to scrutiny. The very fact that they contain so much of quotation and contemporary analogy makes them good reading, as evidently they were good hearing.

But the real value of the book is its brief final section. This is the (unfinished) manuscript which Leslie Tizard began when he learned, quite suddenly, that he had cancer of the spine and lung and recovery was almost beyond possibility. He faced this fact with the same unemotional but rock-solid faith which he had always preached to others —and with the same honesty. The last sentence of his manuscript reveals the quality of the man himself and the strength of his Christian conviction. "In this drama which reaches the final act every day in innumerable stages, it is not the husband or wife who dies but the one remaining behind who bears the heaviest part."

A. S. Hopkinson

THE HUMAN SITUATION

Man and Crisis. By Jose Ortega y Gasset. Allen and Unwin. 16s.

"Man learns nothing from history except that man learns nothing from history." This is not entirely true. He learns that there is such a thing as history, that, in fact, most situations have already occurred to others before they occurred to us, that—in the words engraved upon the Sultan's ring by a wise man to cheer him in trouble, humble him in success—"this also will pass".

Ortega is already well-known as a brilliant critic of the contemporary scene, having affinities to Juvenal and Dante, to Swift and to Spengler. In this book he contrasts the new age which he believes to be taking shape with two other birth-moments in European history—that of Christianity sprung from paganism, and of the Renaissance from the Middle Ages. He sees all history as a series of generations, each appearing to dominate its predecessors, but in reality dependent upon them as a poised acrobat is upon the tiers beneath who support him. Each generation is made up of individuals whose responsibility it is to discover truth for themselves at first hand. The sum total of their discoveries produces the collective and distinctive pattern of an age. But gradually each generation ceases to think for itself, and each individual is content to accept at second hand, so that at last there comes the period of crisis, or vacuum, when the traditional pattern no longer satisfies. In this moment individuals search wildly and anarchically for any belief or system that may offer both pattern and explanation.

"Every culture", he says, "ends in man's socialization, and vice versa; socialization pulls man out of his life of solitude, which is his real and authentic life." But he is not a Rousseau Romantic. The animal, to him, is the completely social and non-individual being, existing only in relation to its environment. The savage is like the animal—"a socialized man without an individuality". Indeed, Ortega seems to involve himself in a perpetual contradiction. He sees the whole of life as a complex—

a complex of situations, generations, personalities, all interdependent. Culture is the acceptance of their relationship and the recognition of it. Desperation, negativity, is the reduction of this totality to one of its elements and the concentration upon that element as an escape or solution in the age of crisis. Yet he maintains—the whole pattern of his thinking compels him to maintain—that it is only the individual who is significant, and he brought back into use an old Spanish word, the verb *ensimismarse*, to be centred in oneself or abstracted—to explain the rôle of the individual. This contradiction the Christian resolves by the doctrine of God, by which "in place of justifying our intravital acts one with another, we are to submit ourselves to our absolute life in God".

But to-day the Christian is, through his involvement in our time, a rationalist, whilst the atheist "has in his life an important zone which neither reason nor naturalism can reach". We all drag, through the fact of our history, twin imperatives of faith and reason. We are, in fact, once again in an age of anarchic crisis. What then are we to do? That, says Ortega, it is not my job to tell you. I can only show you how this crisis has occurred in time past and urge you to think for yourselves.

A fascinating and provoking book—which must have been a torment to the translator.

A. S. Hopkinson

CHURCH AND SCHOOL

Christian Education in a Secular Society. By W. R. Niblett. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.

Dr Niblett is Professor of Education in the University of London. His book reflects the thinking of the Study and Research Committee of the Institute of Christian Education. The list of names in the Appendix of men and women engaged in education who have helped in the research behind this book indicates the quality of those with a Christian concern about education. They deserve our thanks.

This is an important and useful book. It is realistic, and it raises questions about the whole relationship between school, home, and society in the present age. In a society which is becoming secular what part do the schools play? They are not churches, yet in them moral judgements are made and values upheld. Can the Christian understanding of God, man, and nature penetrate and inspire all that is conveyed through the life and work of the school? Dr Niblett shows how considerable the opportunities are and how great the need.

There is much that could be quoted. But Church people should note at least two points where Dr Niblett looks for help from them. "School religion is essentially introductory. It is concerned with the first step from a secular to a religious attitude to life; it can only go a certain

distance with the second step from a religious attitude to a fully Christian one." Elsewhere he points out the vital need for the best people to take up the training of teachers; and to encourage vocations, not only to teaching, but to teacher training is one duty of the clergy in this critical time. Parents, teachers, and clergy will profit by study of this admirable book.

MARCUS KNIGHT

THE CHURCH

THE CHURCH TODAY. By J. W. C. WAND. Penguin. 3s. 6d.

THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN CHRISTENDOM. By A. E. J. RAWLINSON. S.P.C.K. 6s. 6d.

IN HIS introductory chapter of *The Church Today* the author observes that "after a long period of eclipse the idea of the Church is coming again into its own". His book will enable its readers to understand more clearly the significance of this phenomenon and it will take its place in the select class of small books recently written by distinguished men who have written large ones as well, namely Stephen Neill's *Anglicanism*, the Dean of Winchester's *The English Religious Tradition*, and that jewel by the late Dr E. W. Watson, *The Church of England*. The Bishop's "Pelican" gives us a bird's-eye view of the Christian Church as seen through the eagle eye of an Anglican. As one would expect Dr Wand's latest book is full of vigorous thought vigorously expressed, wide generalizations made possible by his long experience as an historian and bishop, and pithy sentences of astounding compression of vast movements and events. What gives a touch of originality to the treatment of a well worn subject is the emphasis on the inner life of the Church, to which the historical survey is preparatory.

As a companion volume Dr Rawlinson has provided us with a very clear survey of the various schemes for reunion under discussion, preceded by two indispensable chapters dealing with the theological principles involved. Both writers inevitably see Anglicanism against the ecumenical background of the time. Dr Rawlinson's view of Episcopacy is that of the Dean of Winchester. On this thorny subject a remark of the late Dean Malden may be recalled. "Sir, you may dissent from my opinions but you must not contradict my facts." As a master writing on his own subject Dr Rawlinson has again recalled the Church to consider what he so deeply is convinced to be the will of God—a united Church. These two little books may be warmly commended to the elusive general reader, students beginning their course, lay readers, and to scholars, showing them how it should be done.

A. F. JUDD

THE MISSIONARY SITUATION

INTO ALL THE WORLD. By DOUGLAS WEBSTER. S.P.C.K. 5s.

BISHOPS who were present have described the 1958 Lambeth Conference as "most missionary-minded". In this respect it reflected the mind of the Church, for there is a new awareness that "there is no participation in Christ without participation in his mission to the whole world".

This new awareness comes when there is a realization that, however meagrely, the Gospel *has been* preached practically throughout the world. But we are learning that the magnitude of the missionary task is measured not geographically but in the total complexity of humanity. The Gospel must be preached not only to the whole world but also to the whole man and his whole situation.

It is precisely there that Douglas Webster's book is of such value. When he joined the Church Missionary Society Home Staff he had a wealth of ability and experience. Both have been further enriched since and have been brought into service to make this "Lambeth follow-up book" important in its own right. The picture it gives is complete and balanced. The mixture of success and frustration, of clearly defined policy and agonized searching for direction, is as the World Church knows it. And to those who wonder—rightly—what is the future of missionary societies, the last two chapters have special meaning.

DEWI MORGAN

RETREATS

HOW TO CONDUCT RETREATS. Association for Promoting Retreats. 2s. 6d.

THE BEST half-crown's worth imaginable. No greater value in so small a compass is possible. This Report deals with the supreme need of every soul to-day. Both individually and collectively the matter of first importance for us is to find God. We need, not just to know *about* God, but to be led to experiential realization of his Presence. Nowhere is this so universally effected as "in Retreat". It would be less than the truth not to say that God's own way in the whole Bible and throughout the age-long life of his Church has ever been to call folk apart from the crowd to wait upon him in quiet. The Conference held on this very matter, under the presidency of the Archbishop of York, is most ably reported in this booklet.

Bishop Wand, in his brief Foreword points out, "the most remarkable growth of the practice of retreats in the last half century has made it a normal part of the life and practice of the Church to-day". The Report, he explains, consists largely of the papers read at the Conference, "written by experts they will be found quite invaluable by those who

have the opportunity of conducting retreats, and it is hoped that they will be read also by retreatants themselves".

Not only are the papers most instructive and practical, but abstracts of the discussions which followed their delivery are included in this Report. Perhaps one point stands out as calling for special recognition, namely that "Retreat", waiting upon God in quiet, is the monopoly of no one school of thought in the Church. It is not the fad of the few but the need of the normal and is more and more utilized and valued as such.

T. L. MANSON, S.S.J.E.

FROM BIBLE TO WORK

READING THROUGH HEBREWS. By R. R. WILLIAMS. Mowbray. 5s.
FAITH IS THE VICTORY. By E. M. BLAIKLOCK. Paternoster Press. 5s.
THE APPROACH TO CALVARY. By JOHN BAKER. Independent Press. 6s. 6d.
IS DEATH THE END? By CARROLL E. SIMCOX. S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d.
THE PROMISE OF THE SPIRIT. By WILLIAM BARCLAY. Epworth Press. 5s.
HOLY COMMUNION. By MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, Jr. S.P.C.K. 6s.
CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION. By JACK C. WINSLOW. Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d.
VOCATION AND WORK. By DEREK TASKER. Mowbray. 5s.

TWO of these books are expositions of the New Testament. *Reading through Hebrews* provides an opportunity literally to read through the epistle under the guidance of the Bishop of Leicester. The text of the Revised Version is printed practically in full, and each section of it is followed by one or more paragraphs of comment. The teaching of the epistle on priesthood, sacrifice, eternal redemption, and faith is expounded clearly and objectively; and the Bishop shows its relevance to "our contemporary situation". In *Faith is the Victory*, Dr Blaiklock adopts a similar method with the first Epistle of St John. He prints an independent translation, and each section of the text is followed by a comment, which leads to a closing prayer. The victory of faith is that of light over darkness, and love over hatred. These chapters were given as readings at the Keswick Convention.

The New Testament is the basis of Christian doctrine. *The Approach to Calvary* is a series of meditations and reflections on the events of Holy Week and Easter as they appeared to our Lord. He is depicted as the Son of God made man, who "used death as the supreme means of blessing His followers". This is not a book for beginners, but for instructed Christians, it provides fresh food for thought on the atonement. To the question *Is Death the End?* an American priest returns the Christian answer. Death comes to all, and the arguments for a natural immortality are not convincing. For the Christian, life eternal is life in communion and fellowship with Jesus Christ. If it is begun

here and now, it will come to full fruition after death. This hope is inspired by the teaching of Jesus, and confirmed by his resurrection. On this basis, the author explains the Christian conceptions of death and judgement, hell and heaven. *The Promise of the Spirit* is the Methodist Lent Book for 1960. It contains a lucid and eloquent account of New Testament teaching on the Holy Spirit, starting with the Gospels and proceeding to Acts and the Epistles. This is introduced by a short survey of Old Testament teaching, and followed by a concluding chapter on the Holy Spirit and the Church to-day. The polemical references to "apostolic succession", on pages 59 and 60, appear to be out of place in an inspiring work of affirmative exposition.

Doctrine is expressed in worship and in work. *Holy Communion* is a discriminating anthology of passages in prose and verse, selected and edited by an American scholar. The passages appear in chronological order, starting with the Didache and ending with the Liturgy of South India. The book includes several prayers, but it is primarily a help to meditation. The index contains full references to the sources. The author of *Confession and Absolution* has been influenced by modern psychiatry and also by the Groups, but he writes as a priest and pastor of the Church of England. He sets out to provide an approach to the subject "which might commend itself to all members of the Church, irrespective of their particular ecclesiastical background", and he accomplishes his purpose. His book is not a manual for the confessor, but a guide for the penitent sinner, and it can be recommended without reserve. Finally, there is a lively and stimulating discussion on the relation betwen *Vocation and Work*. The author is thinking mainly of young Christians starting their jobs in a factory or similar centre. Every member of the Church has his own calling as a Christian. But he may also have a "second call" to regard his daily job as an aspect or part of his vocation, and may exercise a true ministry in his working hours. This book should be helpful to all concerned with parochial youth groups.

G. J. Inglis

RECONCILIATION

The Nature of the Atonement. By J. McLeod Campbell. James Clarke and Co. 17s. 6d.

A good many years ago I picked up a copy of John McLeod Campbell's *The Nature of the Atonement* in a second-hand bookshop and it has been a treasured possession ever since. But it was printed in very small type and was hardly such as to invite a casual reader's interest. It is therefore a cause for considerable satisfaction that a publisher has been found willing to bring out a new edition of a book long out of print and to include in an attractive lay-out both a portrait of Campbell himself and

an introduction to the man and his thought by Professor E. P. Dickie. Though short this introduction gives the essential facts which a student needs to know before he tackles this important but difficult book.

When so many new books are being published it is natural to ask whether it is justifiable to re-issue one written just over a century ago. It could for example be claimed that many summaries and appraisals of Campbell's thought are to be found in books on the Atonement and that only a comparatively few will want to go back to the original text. Yet I think this new edition is justified for the following reasons.

In the first place, the lapse of time has enabled Campbell's book to gain status as one of the classical books on the Atonement. Campbell struck out on a new line of thought which has enriched our apprehension of the meaning of the Cross in an altogether creative way. In brief it was to move from exclusively moralistic categories—penalty, punishment, moral law—to psychological categories—relationship, alienation, reconciliation. And these psychological categories received for Campbell their focal illumination in the experience of prayer. In the Atonement he saw a mighty exercise of prayer issuing in confession and intercession on the part of the Son and making possible a comparable experience in the lives of those called by God to share this sonship.

A further justification for the re-issue of this book is its moving devotional quality. Few great books of theology are so obviously the product of a deeply religious spirit wrestling with mind and heart to apprehend the ways of God with man. *The Nature of the Atonement* was written by a man of humility, integrity, and deep theological insight, and yet also a man aware of the important movements of thought in the wider world of his time. It has stood the test of the years and its reappearance in this attractive form is greatly to be welcomed.

F. W. Dillistone

FORGIVENESS

The Forgiveness of Sins. By William Telfer. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

Few experiences in life are more satisfying than that of being introduced to a great theme or to a great work of art by one who is clearly a master of his subject. I can hardly imagine that any reader of Dr Telfer's book will fail to sense something of this satisfaction. At first sight *The Forgiveness of Sins* may seem to be a well-worn theme and yet Dr Telfer handles it with such freshness of knowledge and such skill of presentation that the subject comes to life in a quite new way.

The opening chapter is a remarkable summary of the biblical doctrine. In it we see clearly the early Christian expectation of complete deliverance from sin being sobered by the unpleasant realities of human weakness and the beginning of the search for an assurance of forgiveness for post-baptismal sin. From this initial exposure of one of the Church's

major problems Dr Telfer goes on to describe successive ways in which the problem was handled both in theory and practice. We are given brief surveys of the teaching of the early Fathers, of the contributions of monasticism, of Augustine and the Scholastic philosophers, of Luther, Calvin, and Hooker. Finally after a useful summary of the teaching of the Prayer Book an epilogue draws the story together not so much as a clash of contradictions (though some of the bitterest controversies in Christian history have been concerned with the way that a man can be assured of the forgiveness of sins) but rather as "a building-up movement in Christianity towards a single integrated apprehension of divine forgiveness". Very strikingly Dr Telfer suggests that we may stand first with Calvin, then with Luther, then with the long Catholic tradition and discover a doctrine of forgiveness that is at once Catholic and Reformed.

The author's command of his historical material is most impressive and his judgements inspire confidence. He throws light on many subjects —penance, satisfaction, mortal and venial sins, public and private confession, attrition and contrition, original and actual sin, the meaning of Second Repentance. And I suspect that this scholarly treatment may prove of special value to those responsible for moral discipline in recently evangelized areas of the world. For what becomes clear in these pages is that it is no easy matter to proclaim the good news of forgiveness of sins rightly. Too harsh, too lax: too much emphasis on man's incapacity, too much emphasis on man's freedom to will: too puritanical, too worldly—such are some of the extreme positions between which the Christian must walk. Dr Telfer has through his valuable essay done much to help him on his way.

F. W. Dillistone

CONVERSION

They Became Anglicans. Edited by Dewi Morgan. Mowbray. 11s. 6d.

Eight of these selected "Converts" came from Protestant Denominations; three were Roman Catholic priests; two, Jews; two agnostics by upbringing; one a Buddhist. Coming by such devious roads, what was it that attracted them to the Anglican Fold?

With the free churchmen—the dignity of liturgical worship and the reality of the Sacramental life, based upon a foundation unbroken by the storms of the Reformation—these things coupled with a great tolerance of the idiosyncrasies of individuals, and a width of outlook unknown in their previous communion.

Two of the priests were Benedictine monks, who have no harsh words to utter about the Roman Church. They recognized that freedom to express the truth as they have found it (despite complete loyalty to fundamental Catholic Doctrines) could not be found in communion with the Holy See. The agnostics, it is true to say, were both won over by

love—Athene Seyler by the large hearted charity of a parish priest: John Wren Lewis by a realization that love is of the essence of the Catholic religion—the antithesis of the travesty of Christianity that most agnostics hold. The same basic element attracted the Buddhist (now assistant Bishop of Singapore): the patient love and non-proselytizing attitude of Anglican priests and schoolmasters to whom he owed his education, won the day.

Hugh Montefiore, born of a devout Jewish family, experienced at the age of seventeen, at Rugby (of all places!), one of those conversions by revelation whose authenticity is ever beyond question by those to whom it is given. Leonard Schiff, on the other hand was the son of non-practising Jews. In his school days he encountered the Anglo-Catholic tradition, and fortified by such diverse influences as those of Basil Jellicoe, the Group Movement, Fr Algy Robertson, and Mahatma Gandhi, he has passed from a Poona Ashram, via parochial and tutorial posts in this country, to serve in the South Indian Church under the S.P.G.

This is a truly inspiring book, and grinds no axes.

T. Dilworth-Harrison

CONVERSION

Evangelical Conversion in Great Britain, 1696-1845. By F. W. B. Bullock. Budd and Gilliat. 35s.

This valuable and scholarly book sets out to do four things—first to describe in detail the narratives of thirty religious experiences of conversion; second, to relate the information derived from those descriptive accounts to the psychological study of religious conversion; to discover the general conversion experience so far as there is a norm, and to discuss deviations from that norm; third, to show the importance of the association of the conversion experience with doctrinal belief, and finally, to discuss the validity and the value of the conversion experience.

Many fascinating points of interest emerge from a study of this book which, incidentally, deals exclusively with people of an Evangelical, Protestant background and outlook. (This book might have been more valuable if the author had included some whose background and outlook were Catholic.) For instance, we find what a high proportion of those who were converted were people of high intellectual ability. It is important to recognize this, for the learning of members of the more Evangelical school of thought has often been depreciated. We also learn that most of these converted people had mothers or other close relatives who were people of prayer. Most of them, furthermore, came from good, sound homes. Many of them, we discover, were converted

after their ordination. Almost all of them regard their conversion experience as the beginning rather than the end of their spiritual pilgrimage (as is commonly and wrongly believed by critics of the experience of conversion).

Canon Bullock spends some time in analysing the experience of conversion, dividing his analysis into the preconversion period, the conversion crisis, and the post-conversion period. In this latter analysis he is able to show the remarkable, beneficial, and permanent effects of conversion upon character and upon the spiritual life. Far from subsequent falling away, there is clear indication of steady growth in sanctification and in acceptance of the responsibilities of witness and active churchmanship.

Of course it can be argued that Canon Bullock has chosen his thirty cases carefully and that he has omitted many cases which would not fit in with his main thesis. But he could easily reply that on the contrary, he has merely taken a cross section of the leading Evangelical figures of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This book will be of great value to those scholars who are interested in the life and work of the Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it should be of great interest to all clergy who have the pastoral care of souls and who desire to be evangelists in this day and age.

We can learn much from this admirably written and scholarly book. Canon Bullock has done a great service to the whole Church. His book will be a standard work of reference for many years to come.

✠ Cuthbert Coventry

SHORT READINGS

Think on These Things. By Francis L. Wheeler. S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d.

One of the most important lessons which a parish priest has to learn in these days is to express himself shortly. The days when congregations would listen appreciatively to paragraph after paragraph of orotund exposition have long since passed. To-day's preacher must be direct, succinct, and yet persuasive—and the discipline of preparing short addresses to be broadcast has been for many a valuable post-graduate training. A similar brevity is needed in books to be recommended to busy people for devotional reading. This book by the Vicar of Saint Mark's, South Farnborough, meets the need admirably. In sixty-seven short chapters it takes the reader through the Christian year. Many laymen will find it helpful; and it would be no disadvantage if many clergy took it as a model for the short talks which they must give at Parish Communions and other services.

H. G. G. Herklots

ENCOUNTER

GOD IN US. By MILES LOWELL YATES. S.P.C.K. and the Seabury Press. 9s. 6d.

THE DISCOVERY OF GOD. By HENRI DE LUBAC. Darton, Longman, and Todd. 18s.

WHEN Dr Yates unexpectedly died in 1956, his widow handed over much literary material to his colleagues at the General Seminary, New York, Drs Pittenger and Ralston, who touchingly testify in their Preface to the saintliness of the friend they have lost. Indeed the lectures on Ascetical Theology collected here could only be the work of one well acquainted by experience with the inner life. They were delivered to theological students, but there is little technical language, and many laymen should profit by a slow and careful study of these pages. The author himself well described his book as "a series of considerations on the spiritual life . . . in the light of records of what great souls have been like and what they have disclosed about our relation with God". The author of *The Discovery of God*, well translated from the French by Alexander Dru, makes no claim to replace or even to supplement classic treatises, and says that his work is only fragmentary. But it is often in such fragments that the reader may find revealing insights and profundities, on which he may profitably meditate. The pure in heart will not only see God, but through them God will make himself seen. The Marxian dialectic is seen to find its origin in Christian philosophy, distorted though it has been. Marx had been a Hegelian. The divine was made immanent by Hegel; then the human was materialized by Marx, whose ideology is really a parasite that draws life from the Christian substance. These instances can only give a glimpse of the treasures available for those who will delve into this unusual book.

FREDERIC HOOD

LIVING IN THE CHURCH

THE MEANING OF CHURCHMANSHIP. By KENNETH MACKENZIE. Mowbray. 7s. 6d.

IN WRITING this very lucid exposition of what is involved in churchmanship, Bishop MacKenzie had chiefly in mind the many puzzled people in the world. The book was first published during the war, but its circulation was very small owing to lack of paper. The new edition may be warmly welcomed. The bishop has a remarkable gift of interpreting the results of accurate scholarship to the medium-brow public, and he succeeds in this excellently here. Church history is "potted" so as to be interesting and readable. There are chapters on Worship and Church Services. The seven sacraments are dealt with one by one. The sequence of the liturgical year is explained and the proper

attitude to the Bible expounded. Ceremonial, private prayer, and Rule of life are not forgotten. On controversial matters the bishop is always eirenic. As an instance, invocation of saints is permissible, but there is no need closely to inquire how much knowledge of individual's prayers is granted to the blessed. To say "Pray for us" well expresses the sense of need for the co-operation of the whole Church. God well knows how the need is to be met.

FREDERIC HOOD

UNIVERSITY PREACHING

SAID OR SUNG. By AUSTIN FARRER. Faith Press. 16s.

WE HEAR many good sermons nowadays and many bad—but few very good, and rarely anything outstanding.

Of the thirty sermons in this "arrangement of homily and verse" some are good, most very good, and at least half a dozen superlative. One of the latter "This is my Body" was preached at the Eucharistic Congress in the Albert Hall in May 1958, and all the rest within the University of Oxford—mostly in Trinity College Chapel. They are therefore primarily designed for members of the university, young and old, and this design is carried through with an imaginative treatment of great themes, in a style full of grace and wit. There is a real joy ringing through these pages, and the author's association of some able verse with the sermons reminds us how close good preaching and good poetry (Donne, Ollier, Brooks) are, not merely in richness of utterance, but in their ability to open our eyes to new horizons and our ears to a music we had missed.

Any honest preacher will find the reading of these sermons humbling, because of their passion as well as their skill; but they will encourage him to make his own arrows better and to aim them straighter. He will hope that the bells which ring through "St. Mark", "The Villages of Heaven", "The Old Rosewood Desk", and "David Danced Mightily" will sometimes be audible through his own words, giving to his hearers the best news of all: "This is the day to receive what God most longs to bestow, Jesus Christ, everlasting joy and inexhaustible grace."

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

AIDS TO PREACHING

THE PREACHER'S HANDBOOK. Edited by DAVID N. FRANCIS. Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.

THIS book is the sixth of the series designed to help preachers, and especially Methodist Lay Preachers, in their ministry. The book is in three parts. In Part I are three introductory articles—"Preaching" by

Dr Roberts, "How Preaching Comes Alive" by Dr Sangster, and "Using the Epworth Preacher's Commentaries" by R. G. Burnett. Part II consists of four study articles—"The Life and Character of David (Barraclough), "Great Words of the Epistles for Preachers" (Cornforth), "Preaching from the Miracles of Jesus" (Stacey), and "An Outline of Church History" from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Goldhawk). In Part III there are commentaries for preachers on (1) Psalms 1-72 (Rodd), and (2) St Peter's First Epistle (Fletcher).

There is much helpful material in Part II, which seems to be the best of the book. The butter is spread rather thin in the Commentaries in Part III—perhaps too much has been attempted in too short a space. Part I is not up to the reputation of its writers. There seems to be a besetting inability among modern writers on preaching to refer their readers to Christ's own profound and brilliant method, especially his way of appealing to reason and imagination and of setting the emotions and will in action.

The undoubted usefulness of such a book as this would be much increased if short bibliographies were included for each of the various sections, there is only one in this volume, in connection with the Psalms. There are two errata: "Part III" on p. ix should read "Part II" and on p. 12 read "Insidious" for "Insiduous".

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

WITH PEERS IN SPAIN

STUDIES IN THE SPANISH MYSTICS. Vol. III. By E. ALLISON PEERS. S.P.C.K. 32s. 6d. (Three volumes 90s.)

NOTHING will induce me to review this work in the accepted sense of the word "review"—its compass is too vast. In this his third and final volume the late Professor Peers completes his monumental work on the Spanish phenomenon of the sixteenth century, and our gratitude for it is tempered by the sober reflection of the author himself that there is material yet buried in the libraries of Spain to occupy the scholar for many a year. The bibliography (76 pages of it, in close type) is the kind of thing which would have rejoiced the heart of the late Abbot Denys Prideaux, and it serves as bibliography for the whole three volumes. It is also eloquent tribute to the tenacity of purpose of its compiler.

Professor Peers, dealing as he does here with material which is often fragmentary, divides the work into the convenient heads of the various religious orders and congregations—Carmelite, Dominican and Franciscan, Augustinian, Jesuit—and the rest (the Benedictines, true to type, were imitators rather than initiators). Some very interesting questions emerge as a result of reading this present work, of which easily the first is the extent of the indebtedness of the Spaniards to the *devotio*

moderna, to Tauler, Eckhart, and Ruysbroeck. How far we are likely to be able to make any final judgements on this influence, however indirect, is matter for debate. But when are we to have a competent definitive study of John of Fecamp, without which any such judgement might be incomplete? Again, if our common assumption is that contemplative prayer is a thing reserved for enclosed nuns, nevertheless it deserves to be asked to what extent the language and the vocabulary of mysticism is of anything like universal validity for the ordinary Christian. This whole matter has been raised recently by Professor H. D. Lewis (in *Our Experience of God*) and it can do with being asked again after reading through this third volume of Professor Peers. Here we have the language being used by some who lacked the caution of Teresa or Friar John. This brings me to my final point. There is much in the lesser Spanish writers which wholly subscribes to the familiar Alexandrian conception of *theopoiein* as the destiny of man in Christ. To many of us, this is a dangerous conception at best, and owes its origin to a depreciation of the Manhood of Jesus, and results in a fatal blurring of the distinctions between Creator and creature. It may be, now that we have the completed work of Professor Peers to hand, that someone will undertake the monumental task of a theological appraisal of Counter-Reformation devotional writing.

One final word: who was responsible for the restless, undignified, and blatant jacket?

C. S. Mann

CHRISTIAN FAITH

I Believe. By G. W. H. Lampe. Skeffington. 18s.

This is an excellently lucid and straightforward account of the Christian faith as accepted by an orthodox theologian of great ability, whose own understanding of Christianity "is determined in the main by the historic Creeds and the Anglican Prayer Book". The Nicene Creed provides the titles of the book's eleven chapters.

Like the biblical writers, Dr Lampe assumes the existence of God, and is not concerned to discuss the point, though he has a devastating criticism of the argument from design in its traditional form. The world as it exists presents many problems to the thoughtful man; the fundamental Christian affirmation about it is that it is God's world. (Chapter III, "Maker of Heaven and Earth".)

A short review like this cannot survey the whole book, but must be content to draw attention to a few of its highlights. Among these are Chapter IV, "In Our Lord Jesus Christ", which traces the emergence of credal statements from reflection on the events of our Lord's life; Chapter VI, "For Us Men", which is illuminating on the subjects of sin and the divine "wrath", and Chapter IX, "One Catholic and

Apostolic Church", which insists on the necessity of membership in the one Body, and has some wise remarks on Christian divisions. Chapter X, "Whose Kingdom Shall Have No End", deals admirably with the two great Sacraments, and the centrality of Eucharistic worship, while the final chapter, "The Life of the World to Come", expounds the Christian hope and its relation to present Christian experience.

✠ ERIC GRAHAM

CHURCH HISTORY

A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By WILLISTON WALKER. T. and T. Clark. 42s.

FOR FORTY years the work of the (Congregationalist) Yale Professor has been recognized as the best and handiest of the one volume histories covering the whole life of the Church in all its diversity. The new edition has been revised and brought up to date by a trinity of scholars from the Union Theological Seminary together with the learned Anglican, Dr Hardy of the Berkeley Divinity School.

This is eminently a students' book. It gives just the kind of information needed by one entering upon a serious study of the subject. It gives him the background of general Church history before he begins to launch out into specialization. An amazing amount of knowledge is crammed between its covers. Its breadth and balance have not been disturbed, and in detail it has benefited by the meticulous revision to which it has been subjected. But Elizabeth I is still said to have had no religion.

W.W.

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